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GENERAL EDITOR

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

**SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF
THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC
IV**

SAWANIĤĀT-I-MUMTĀZ

(SECOND PART)

BY

MUHAMMAD KARIM

SAWĀNIHĀT-I-MUMTĀZ

OF

MUHAMMAD KARĪM

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

*Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu
University of Madras*

SECOND PART

**From the death of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II
to the regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur**



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CONTENTS

	PAGES.
Introduction	vii— xii
Bibliography	xiii— xv
Correspondence between the Governor of Madras and Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur	1— 12
Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III ...	13— 20
A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV ...	21— 24
Coronation of <u>G</u> hulām Muḥammad <u>G</u> hawth <u>K</u> hān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V ...	27
Regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur ...	28— 45
Account of Mughal Princes in Madras ...	46— 52
Genealogy of the Wālājāhī dynasty ...	53—111
Epilogue by the author ...	113—116
Appendices	117—205
Index	207—301

LIST OF PICTURES

	Facing Page.
1. Āzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III	13
2. A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV ...	21
3. <u>G</u> hulām Muḥammad <u>G</u> hawth <u>K</u> hān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V	27
4. Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur	40
5. Tomb of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn <u>K</u> hān Bahādur <u>S</u> hahāmat Jang in Ḥaydarābād ...	113

INTRODUCTION

Three years have elapsed since the Third Part of *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, of which the present one is a continuation, was published. That the appearance of this Part has been so delayed is due to a variety of causes, one being the publication of *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* presented by me as a thesis for the University of London in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy. The delay in production of this volume has not, however, been altogether a matter for regret, for it has enabled me to prepare an elaborate index for all the Four Parts and publish it along with this volume. The printing of an index with suitable diacritical marks is not an easy task, and no one will fail to recognise the skill and care of the Madras Law Journal Press who are responsible for the printing of the index, as well as the last three volumes.

The present volume carries the history of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic from the death of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II to the regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur. This period, short as it is, includes several of the rulers of the Wālājāhī family, and contains more new matter and gives ample scope for original research like the previous instalments in this series.

The history of every country contains momentous epochs about which it behoves an educated person to know something. Of such epochs the Carnatic has had its full share. The rise of the Wālājāhī dynasty in the Carnatic at about the middle of the eighteenth century of the Christian era, was an event of the greatest historical importance not only to the Carnatic and her immediate neighbours but to India generally. It marks the

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

creation of a Muslim nationality and the genesis of political relations which affected the whole course of Indian history. This period of the Carnatic history is the starting point for the building up of the British Raj in India, and it indicates, in fact, the transition from the mediæval to modern times. It will be worth while to recall the historical facts.

The first Nawwāb of the Wālājāhī family, Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang was the *nāẓim* of the Carnatic appointed by the Nizam as his deputy, the Nizam himself being the *wazīr* of the Deccan appointed by the Mughal Emperor at Delhi. These appointments were not hereditary by the original grant, yet the ancient custom in India was in favour of hereditary office. In the course of the decline of the Mughal empire the viceroalties such as the Deccan, Oudh and Bengal acquired hereditary rights by gradual encroachments and opportune demands from the Emperor who was compelled to concede them in times of difficulty. These *ṣubadārs* or feudatories became hereditary princes by degrees exercising virtually sovereign jurisdiction within their own territory, though nominally they paid ceremonial homage and allegiance to the Emperor.

Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur the *nāẓim* of the Carnatic was very friendly with the English East India Company. In 1746 when the French took possession of Madras and Cuddalore, the two English settlements, he fought against the French, recaptured the two towns and restored them to the English. The reason why the Nawwāb protected the English settlements is shown in the following narrative of Burhānu'd-Dīn:

“Now the French have crossed the limits, and have subdued and brought under their control the town of Chennapatan (Madras) belonging to the English. To maintain the honour of our administration, to establish the power of our *niẓāmat*, to teach a lesson to the proud and the vain, to help those who hold fast the handle of trustworthiness and obedience

INTRODUCTION

and to improve the standard of administration, to discharge all these responsibilities of sovereign, we commissioned Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur, your elder brother and entrusted him with the task of capturing from the French and restoring to the English their lost possessions. We came to know that he is worthless and inexperienced. We wished to engage ourselves in this enterprise, but emaciation due to old age and the sickness of our body prevent us. We leave to your hands the untying of this knot which cannot be easily untied. Our good name rests on the release of Chennapatan from the hands of the French and its restoration to the English, on the demand of the expenses of these expeditions from that weak enemy, on the capture of the fort of Pulcheri (Pondicherry) and on the expulsion of the French from the territory of the Carnatic. These should be carried out properly. Finish this work, and let the happy news of your victory spread far and wide.”*

Later, when the French, with a view to put an end to the English influence, set up Ḥusayn Dōst Khān (Chanda Ṣāhib) as a claimant to the Nawwābship of the Carnatic, Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur though advanced in age at that time, fought against the French and Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and lost his life in the battle of Ambur in 1749 A.D. In due course the ambition of the French fired by the designs of M. Dupleix, created alarm in the minds of the Governors of the English East India Company. The English clearly understood that under the pretext of supporting the claims of the local princes, the French were formulating ambitious schemes for territorial aggrandisement. So the English employed the same weapon of their enemies, and espoused the cause of Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, son of Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang. The English were more fortunate; their efforts were successful. The peace-treaty concluded at

* *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part I, by Dr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (University of Madras, 1934), page 118.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

Paris in 1763 recognised Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I as the lawful ruler of the Carnatic.

In the year 1765 Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur was raised, by a *farmān* of the Imperial Court at Delhi, to the dignity of a hereditary Nawwāb with the title *Wālājāh Amīru'l-Hind* and thus from that year the Nawwāb of the Carnatic was released completely from all dependence upon and allegiance to the *wazīr* of the Deccan, his immediate superior.

Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh, the first hereditary sovereign prince, was the closest and most loyal friend of the English Company for about forty years. The Company, possessing Madras and Cuddalore by grants from Hindu rulers, and as a military power, were allies of the Nawwāb and had transactions with him on terms of equality. But later on when the Nawwāb made successive grants to the Company, by *sanad*, of Poonamallee and other taluqs, they conducted themselves as vassals of the Nawwāb in respect of their holdings in the Carnatic. Even when the material power of the Company increased after the Nawwāb's grant of the *zīlt* of Chingleput with a revenue of eighteen lacs of rupees, the English still continued to be the feudatories of the Nawwāb holding all their territory as *jāgīrs* under a *sanad* from him as the sovereign of the country. These technical and formal relationship between the Nawwāb Wālājāh I. and the Company continued for a number of years. They did not enter into any treaty or specific agreement whatever. For the first time in 1787 A.D. the Nawwāb Wālājāh, after many solicitations by the English, entered into a treaty with the East India Company by which he agreed to pay only a subsidy for the maintenance of the troops. This treaty was revised in 1792 by Lord Cornwallis, the terms of which lightened considerably the burden of payment by the Nawwāb. These treaties did not contain any cession of territory by the Nawwāb to the Company.

INTRODUCTION

Muhammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I died in 1795; his son 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II succeeded him. During his reign no change took place in his political relations with the Company. But at his death in 1801 A. D. the attitude of the English changed considerably. It should also be observed that ever since Lord Cornwallis successfully broke the power of Tippu Sultān of Mysore, the English had been planning to obtain the entire civil and military administration of the Carnatic and to reduce the Nawwāb to the position of a grand pensionary. How this plan was carried out after the death of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II is of absorbing interest. The present volume gives some details which I have tried to supplement, in Appendices, with lengthy extracts from published records.

A perusal of this volume would suggest the following topics for careful study and research:

(1) How the British managed to take out of the hands of the Nawwāb the administration of the Carnatic without an open rupture and without the employment of force.

(2) A study of the alleged treasonable correspondence, which had passed between Tippu Sultān and the two *wakils* Ghulām Ālī Khān and Ālī Rizā who had accompanied the hostage sons of Tippu Sultān to Madras in 1792, with reference to the plan of the British to obtain for themselves the entire administration of the Carnatic.

(3) Whether the treaty of 1801 concluded by the British with Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III cast any doubt upon the rank and status of the heirs of the Wālājāhī family as hereditary Sovereign Princes?

The other historical facts found in this Part may be summarised as follows:

Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, who succeeded in 1801 his cousin 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, died in 1819. He was succeeded by his eldest son

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. A'zam Jāh died in 1825 and his son Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V was proclaimed by the British as the Nawwāb of the Carnatic. When he died in 1855 without issue Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur, second son of Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, and heir to his nephew according to the Muslim Law, claimed to be his successor. But Lord Dalhousie deprived Prince Aẓīm Jāh of the right of inheritance which accrued to him and offered to give him a state-grant. The Prince, *de jure* Nawwāb of the Carnatic, refused to resign the inheritance of his forefathers or to take the state-grant offered to him. Although this book does not narrate the protracted proceedings between the British and Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur, yet students of history will have interest to study in detail the question whether the heirs of Nawwāb Wālājāh I still remain the hereditary sovereigns of the Carnatic, while the British hold the Carnatic as *a trust* on certain conditions as they still hold Berar which they received from the Nizam of Ḥaydarābād in 1853. This question is a vast one. All the treaties from the days of Lord Cornwallis down to the times of Lord Dalhousie and the contemporary records in the form of letters and minutes of the Board of Directors of the East India Company, together with the proceedings instituted in the Parliament by Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur have to be studied carefully. The result of these studies might convince an impartial student whether or not the members of the Wālājāhī family are mere stipendiaries of the British or their allies.

The editor is highly indebted to the ready and generous help of Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachariar, M.A., Professor of History, Annamalai University, S. India, for the valuable historical notes.

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S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR.

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SAWĀNIHĀT-I-MUMTĀZ—PT. IV, CII. 2—(Contd.)

The correspondence between the Governor of Madras and Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur; the accession of Amīrūl-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb Aḡīmūl-Dawla Bahādur to the throne and the demise of Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur.

TAJU'L-UMARĀ BAHĀDUR

son of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

Immediately after the dispatch of the coffin of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II to Nattharnagar, Mr. Webbe¹ and Colonel MacNeil² went to the *kachahrī* of Colonel

(1) Josiah Webbe (1768-1804) was appointed a Writer at Fort St. George, Madras. He rose gradually in the official cadre, became the Secretary to the Board of Revenue in 1790, Secretary to the Government in 1797, and eventually the first Chief Secretary in 1800 A.D. He wrote a minute strongly deprecating the resumption of hostilities against Ṭippū sulṭān which highly displeased Lord Mornington and the Directors of the Company. He was appointed Resident in Mysore in 1804, and, in a short while, was transferred to Gwalior in the same capacity. On his way to Gwalior he died on the banks of the river Narbada. A monument was erected for Webbe in the Fort Church, Madras.

(2) Greater details are not known about Col. MacNeil than that he was an officer in the Madras Army and placed in charge of troops for safeguarding the Chepauk palace after the death of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

The troops in charge of Colonel MacNeil comprised three Companies of His Majesty's Scottish Brigade, five Companies of the First Battalion, Fourth

Barrett Bahādur¹ in Fataḥ-chawkī, and sent information of their arrival to Tājū'l-Umarā Bahādur. At that time the Prince was sitting in the outer hall of Fataḥ-chawkī, opposite to Nuṣrat-maḥall, with Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Mubāriz Jang Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, Taqī 'Alī Khān Bahādur, and others. The Prince was in deep mourning.

Colonel Barrett Bahādur reached the presence of the Prince with Mr. Webbe and Colonel MacNeil, expressed condolence on his own behalf and on behalf of the Governor, and said: "Lord ṣāhib Governor² has the desire to go over here after the *fātiḥa*³ on the third day for the late Nawwāb. He would

Regiment of Native Infantry and a Subaltern and thirty Europeans, besides one Company of Native Artillery, with four six-pounders and thirty troopers from the Governor's Body-guard. He had also permission to requisition, if necessary, any portion of the garrison at Fort St. George.

(1) Col. Barrett Bahādur was appointed *Diwān* by 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, soon after he ascended the throne. He was entrusted with the administration of the revenues of the Nawwāb.

For details see *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic* Part III, pp. 74-78 and also foot-note on p. 18.

(2) Lord Clive was the Governor of Madras at that time, 1798-1802 A.D.

(3) On the third day after the burial, the rites known as *siyārat* (visiting) or *phul-charḥānā* (the flower-offering) are performed. 'On the second day, the relatives of the deceased take fruit, food, betel, a sheet made of flowers, sweetmeats, perfumed powder and benzoin pastilles (*'ūd batti*) and lay them on the spot where the death occurred. On the third day, early in the morning, the male relatives and *mullas* take these things to the grave and have a recital of the whole Qurān done by the *mullas*, in order to transfer the benefit to the departed soul. The readers of the Qurān are divided into many batches so that the reading of the entire Qurān is finished rapidly. Rich people employ fifty or more *mullas* for this purpose. When this is done they spread a white or other coloured sheet on the grave, lay the flower-sheet over that, and burn pastilles of benzoin. Each man throws a few flowers into the perfumed water, and with prayers for the remission of the dead man's sins they rub the powder on the grave over the place where the head and breast of the corpse rest. The *fātiḥa* is recited, and the food is distributed to the *ḥāfīs*, or those who know the Qurān by heart, the *mullas*, *faqirs*, and the poor. Grain, salt, and money are also

CH. 2—LORD CLIVE'S MESSAGE TO TAJU'L-UMARĀ

stay in one of the tents, opposite to the iron gate, and like to attain the distinction of interviewing your highness." Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur was thoughtful for a while and then replied: "I am mourning for the death of my father. I am not in a position just now to give you any reply." Then they took leave of the Prince, returned to the *kachahrī* of Colonel Barrett Bahādur, and were considering the situation.

Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur said to those present, by way of comment: "The Governor's message seeking an interview is sent to me under the cloak of condolence. Many evils are hidden under this."

Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur, and a few others who were present, took leave of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, and went to the *kachahrī* of Colonel Barrett Bahādur. The Colonel disclosed the facts to Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur in the presence of the English *sardārs*: "Mr. Webbe and Colonel MacNeil had given a hint of the Governor's desire. It would be better for the Prince to meet the Governor after the *fātiḥa* on the third day, and propose to him that he should be crowned as Nawwāb. It is expedient that he should do so. Any other plan will not be suitable."

Sālār Jang Bahādur gave the following reply: "We are the devoted servants of the *sarkār*. We would communicate to the Prince whatever reaches our ears. It rests with the Prince to do as he likes. '*Kings know what is good for their country.*'" 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II shed light on the *masnad*¹ after the *fātiḥa* on the third day of the death of his father without informing the Governor. Perhaps this Prince also would follow the same plan, and ascend the throne after the *fātiḥa* for his father on the third day. We, the loyal

distributed. Then they say the *fātiḥa* for all the dead who rest in the cemetery and return home.

(1) 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II ascended the throne on the 16th of October, 1795 A.D.

servants, cannot but hang on our lips. It is quite possible that the Prince may have such transactions after the coronation."

Mr. Webbe informed them that some letters¹ with the seal and signature of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, containing details in violation of the treaty, had reached the Governor-General-in-Council, Bengal². It was sent from there to the Governor-in-Council, Madras, for inquiry during the Nawwāb's illness. If Nawwāb šāhib had recovered his health, surely an inquiry might have been held in regard to these letters, and the kingdom of the Carnatic could have been confiscated by the Company in recompense for this treachery. Now the transaction of this matter is left to the Prince. The two parties have to draw up a fresh treaty, and the Prince has to ratify it. Then he would be permitted to ascend the throne. If he ascends the throne without the consent of the Governor-in-Council, great trouble would come upon him. Colonel Barrett Bahādur and Sālār Jang Bahādur were very much perplexed by this speech. Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur addressed Mr. Webbe thus:

"It is highly improper to accuse the late Nawwāb šāhib in this manner. It would not have been possible for the Company to confiscate the kingdom during the days of the late Nawwāb šāhib. You cannot do any such thing. The growth of the power of the *frang* community in this country was due to the friendly regard and good will of Muḥammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I³. Therefore such indecent remarks are not proper. There is no necessity for the son and successor to obtain permission from the Governor-in-Council to ascend the throne."

(1) This is known in history as the Seringapatam Correspondence. For details see Appendix A.

(2) The Governor-General at the period was Lord Mornington, Marquess of Wellesley, 1798-1803 A.D.

(3) Muḥammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I was the Nawwāb of the Carnatic from 1749-1795 A.D.

Mr. Webbe raged at Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur thus: "Khān ṣāhib! This matter pertains to the kingdom and government. It is not right that you should poke your nose into these affairs. We know our job. There is no hereditary right for government. Whoever strikes with the sword, he will establish his rule."

Colonel Barrett Bahādur, Taqī 'Alī Khān Bahādur, and Sālār Jang Bahādur got up from that place, and represented to Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur the altercation with Mr. Webbe. The Prince was very much distressed. He came to a resolution, and, on the 6th of Rabī'u'l-awwal at Fataḥ-chawķī, he accepted *nadh'r* from Sālār Jang Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Taqī 'Alī Khān Bahādur, and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, and others, in all about thirty men. The '*ināyatnāmas* with the seal and signature of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur were sent by *ḍāk* to the *āmils* in every part of the country, confirming their authority.

Azīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur¹ who was present in the *majlis* when the '*ināyatnāmas* were dispatched, went to Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur,² narrated to him in secrecy every detail, and returned to his own residence. When Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam³ and others got information of this unpleasant news, they considered that Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur was not worthy of the claim. Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam made preparations to write letters to the Governor-in-Council showing her opposition and

(1) Azīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur was the son of Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur, the second son of Muḥammad 'Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, who pre-deceased his father.

(2) Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur was the son of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, the first sister of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

(3) Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam enjoyed the confidence of her brother, 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. There is a great interest as to the part played by this sister of the Nawwāb.

For details see *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part III—Introduction, pp. 7-8.

that of the other members of the family to the claims of Tājū'l-Umarā Bahādur, on the ground of the illegitimacy of his birth.

Next day, after saying the *fātiḥa* of *ziyārat*, Tājū'l-Umarā Bahādur rode in the *suksāwan* of his late father at about 9 o'clock in the morning, and went into the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall with Sālār Jang Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur and some other nobles, followed by armed *jawāns*, orderlies, *bāndārs* and *alqhōzanawāz*. He accepted *nadh*r from some people, and stayed there for about two or three hours. He gave orders to Bahrām Jang Bahādur, and Sālār Jang Bahādur to arrange to furnish the big *dīwān-khāna*, and write letters of invitation requesting every one to be present for the coronation on Friday the 10th of Rabī'ul-awwal. Then he went to Fataḥ-chawkī.

As soon as Colonel MacNeil got this information, he went to the big *dīwān-khāna* and inquired of Bahrām Jang Bahādur and Sālār Jang Bahādur: "Why did Tājū'l-Umarā Bahādur come to that place? What orders did he give?" They replied: "The Prince, ever since the date of the demise of his father, has been keeping himself to one place, and this seclusion has caused a little palpitation. He came over here for a change, stayed for about an hour, and then went away." Then the Colonel asked: "Why did he give orders for furnishing the *dīwān-khāna* and sending invitations to come to the coronation?" They replied: "It is not necessary that orders should be given in regard to these affairs. As he is still feeling sorrow for the death of his father, he could not make preparations for his coronation. By the grace of Allāh, for certain, he will give his attention to it to-day or to-morrow. It is incumbent on us to make everything ready for the coronation even before he gives orders for that. Whenever he expresses his happy desire on that, we, the well-wishers, would obey his command."

CH. 2—TĀJU'L-UMARĀ MEETS LORD CLIVE

Colonel MacNeil communicated these details to the Governor-in-Council. According to the direction of the Governor-in-Council, Colonel MacNeil marched immediately with guards to the *dīvān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall, and posted them in all places, with instructions that they should not permit any one of the *'ilāqadārs* of the *sarkār* to enter the place. He also posted guards at the gates of Fataḥ-chawkī, Nuṣrat-maḥall, and the house of the mother of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur. Then he sent the following oral message to Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur through Colonel Barrett Bahādur. "To-morrow Lord ṣaḥib will be in his tent in *Bagh-i-khāṣṣ* adjoining the iron gate for the purpose of meeting the Prince. His highness also should go over there and meet him."

In accordance with the advice offered by Colonel Barrett Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur, and others, Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur started to the Governor's tent the next day at about 8 A.M. in great state with all the paraphernalia like *mōrchāl*, *āftāb-girī* and *alghōzanawāz*. Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur went alone into the Governor's tent, leaving Sālār Jang Bahādur and others in a separate tent, talked with the Governor for about an hour, and then returned to his residence. In the meanwhile, letters from Nawwāb Sultān'u'n-nisā Bēgam, bearing also the seals of the other members of the royal family, disputing Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur's title to the throne, and expressing their unwillingness to take the oath of allegiance to him, reached the Governor-in-Council. The Prince met the Governor twice or thrice in the same manner as on the first day¹. On the fourth day

(1) There seems to be some difference in the account given by the author of this book and the information available in English records. It appears from the English records that Messrs. Webbe and Close had dealings with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur's advisers like Bahrām Jang Bahādur, Sālār Jang Bahādur and others.

For details of the report of Messrs. Webbe and Close on their negotiations to come to an agreement with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur and his advisers,

there was disagreement between the Prince and the Governor. At the time of leave-taking on the fourth day, the Prince was not shown the respect befitting his state. The guards were stopped from playing the *rīs* and *tambūr*, for it was decided by the Governor-in-Council that Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur had not the status to ascend the throne, and that some other arrangement should be made in regard to the question of succession.

Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur returned to his residence with great mental agitation and told Colonel Barrett Bahādur, and Sālār Jang Bahādur: "Till this day the Governor and other *sardārs* showed me the respect befitting the state of my grandfather and father. But to-day on account of disagreement in opinion there was a notable change in their behaviour at the time of meeting and leave-taking. It seems to me that death is better than this life." Then he went to his mother's house.

Section 5.

ʿAzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur was mourning for the death of Nawwāb ʿUmdatul-Umarā Bahādur. Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, in accordance with the advice of his late father, was very affectionate and fond of ʿAzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur. They took dinner always together. ʿAzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, out of regard for the love and tenderness shown to him by the Prince, kept company with him night and day. His intimate friendship and good fellowship struck every one. On learning the cordial amity between the two princes, Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam prevented ʿAzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur from visiting her house, for she doubted that he might communicate her plans to Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur.

Some days passed. ʿAzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur learnt that the question of succession was in a state of confusion. He also found out that Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur was disturbed over this

and other events leading to the accession of ʿAzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur to the *masnad* of the Carnatic see extracts from official papers given in Appendix B.

affair. On a Friday AẒĪmu'd-Dawla Bahādur went away to his house on the pretext of bathing and took up his residence there. On the morning of Saturday when he was taking a 'walk in front of his house, suddenly by the grace of the most benevolent and eternal Lord, by the help of the Prophet, the exalted leader of the world, and by the protection of Maḥbūb Subḥānī, Colonel MacNeil, who used to go round the *bāgh* every day with some orderlies, appeared at the gate. As soon as he caught sight of AẒĪmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, the Colonel inquired of his men about him and learnt that he was the son of Madāru'l-mulk Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur. The Colonel communicated immediately this information to the Governor who was anxiously looking for such a candidate to the *Wālājāhī* throne. The Governor was very much pleased with the news and gave orders to Colonel MacNeil thus: "You must go with great haste and post the guards, under your command, round about his apartments. Then make salaams to him on my behalf and communicate that the Governor ṣāḥib desires to meet him in his tent to-morrow or the day after." The Colonel did as he was bidden. AẒĪmu'd-Dawla Bahādur was a bit puzzled over the news and apprehended that it might reach the ears of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur.

The Prince also remembered why his father often advised¹ him not to keep himself away from the company of AẒĪmu'd-Dawla Bahādur. It may be, the members of the Governor's Council had been planning to seat him on the throne. When this idea recurred to him, he shuddered to think what might happen. He sent *Shaykh* Bāban, his orderly, with the following oral message to AẒĪmu'd-Dawla Bahādur:

(1) Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II advised his son Tājul-Umarā Bahādur as follows:

"It is necessary that you stay always with him and inquire after him. Dine with him and do not leave him alone", See *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part III, p. 178.

“Ḥaẓrat,

“It is two days since we met. You have not conferred dignity upon me by your company. Please honour me by your visit. We may dine together.”

At that time Āẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur was in his house, being watched by guards. So he deemed that he could not go out, and sent a reply thus:

“My dear brother,

“Please excuse me. I am unable just now to go over to your place.”

Next morning, at about 7 o'clock, Colonel MacNeil went to the house of Āẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur with a *suksāwan* and armed *jawāns*. He seated the prince inside the *suksāwan* and conducted him in state to the Governor. Lord Clive ṣāhib, Mr. Webbe, Colonel Close¹ and a few other *sardārs* received him in a manner befitting his state, and discussed with him the details pertaining to the administration of the kingdom, and the question of succession that was in dispute. Āẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur agreed to all their proposals saying, “I shall act upon the suggestion of the Lord ṣāhib. Whatever is good and proper to you will be suitable to me. Barring my dependence upon Allāh and His prophet, I am under the protection of the Company. I have no fear. Allāh, the compassionate Lord, will do everything in the proper way.”

Lord Clive ṣāhib and other *sardārs* felt very happy, comforted him, and sent him back to his palace in great state. They posted two armed *jawāns* at every door of his palace.

(1) Sir Barry Close (1756-1813) was appointed to the Madras Army in 1771. He was besieged at Tellicherry by the troops of Ḥaydar Āli in 1780 A.D. When Seringapatam was besieged by the English in 1792 and 1799, Close was present there as Deputy and Assistant Adjutant-General, and his services were warmly acknowledged by General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief.

Close was appointed Resident of Mysore in 1799. Two years later, he was transferred to Poona as Resident and held that office for ten years. As Resident he negotiated the Treaty of Bassein, December 1802, with Baji Rao, the Peshwa.

CH. 2—ʿAZĪMUʿD-DAWLA WAS CHOSEN NAWWAB

In the course of the interview, Lord Clive ṣāḥib observed: "The members of the Governor's Council have decided that your highness should stay in Amīr-bāgh for some days. When everything is made ready and the *dārūl-amāra* is fitted up, they would conduct you to Kalas-maḥall for the coronation. During the period of your highness' stay at Kalas-maḥall, one of the Company guards and a trooper will keep guard, and a *chārat* drawn by four horses also will be available for drive." On learning this joyful news, ʿAzīmuʿd-Dawla Bahādur felt very happy. Then they took leave of the Prince.

The Governor sent a large sum of money from the Company's treasury for the expenses of ʿAzīmuʿd-Dawla Bahādur. Out of this amount he first celebrated the *fātiḥa* on the 12th of Rabiʿul-awwal¹. Then he arranged for necessary things and started to Amīr-bāgh with *maḥallāt*.

ʿAzīmuʿd-Dawla Bahādur invited his father's companions and employed them in his service. After receiving information from the Governor, the signet of the Nawwāb-designate, inscribed with the words, *Amīrūl-Hind Wālajāh Nawwāb ʿAzīmuʿd-Dawla Bahādur* was got ready in Amīr-bāgh. Lord Clive ṣāḥib arranged to decorate the *diwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall, got ready on behalf of the Governor-in-Council, letters inviting all the members of the royal family and nobles to attend the coronation, and dispatched them. This news caused anxiety to Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur, and the members of the royal family.

One morning, before the coronation, Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Bahādur,² who resided behind Amīr-bāgh, called on ʿAzīmuʿd-

(1) Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam (on him be peace) departed this life on the 12th of Rabiʿul-awwal and on this day all the Muslims observe the *fātiḥa* for the Prophet.

(2) He was the third son of Muḥammad ʿAlī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālajāh I. His name was Muḥammad Anwar, known as Ḥājī Miyān, and was styled *Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Anwārūd-Dawla Muḥammad Anwar Khān Bahādur Ḥusām Jang*.

Dawla Bahādur. As soon as the Nawwāb's arrival was reported to him, he proceeded to welcome him as far as the *suksāwan*, received him, and conducted him to the house with great humbleness and reverence. Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur was pleased with him, expressed good wishes for his long life, joy and success, and said: "May you be worthy of this rank received from the almighty Allāh, exalted be He. I hope your family may keep this high rank from generation to generation. As for those who are causing obstruction in the matter, it will be ineffectual and useless. They will achieve nothing but ill-fame and notoriety. I shall be the first to receive my allowance through you, for there is absolutely no doubt about the permanence of your government. But, outwardly, I must do as other relatives in this matter. Else they will scandalise me. I will not also be present for the coronation. I may be excused for that. You must not harbour evil thoughts on that score."

ʿAzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur was very glad to hear these kind and affectionate words. Then he said: "I have need of two *gulāb-pāsh*, *pāndān*, *ʿitrdān*, silver *changēr*, and two or three trays for presenting *khilāt*. I may be honoured with the grant of these articles, which will be returned after the work for them is finished." Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur agreed to send them and went back to his residence. He sent all the things as per request with the message: "These are yours. You may keep them in your *kār-khāna*, and there is no need to return them." The Nawwāb-designate felt very happy to receive these gifts, and set himself to arrange for other affairs.



Azimu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III—1801-1819.

‘AZIMU’D-DAWLA BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WĀLĀJĀH III.

“Praise be to the Creator of all beings; thanks to the
Giver of all gifts.”

The day dawned on the 19th of Rabī‘u’l-awwal¹ raising the veil of darkness, and the rising sun shed lustre upon the country, when Nawwāb ṣāhib—the asylum of nobility and generosity, the refuge of the distressed, the choicest embodiment of bravery, the ruler that gives light to his subjects, the precious gem that throws light on the government, the fountain-head of refined manners and fineness of feeling, the source of generosity, the purest and most perfect manifestation of the Wālājāhī family—Amīru’l-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb Āzīmu’d-Dawla Bahādūr arrayed himself up in rich robes and ornaments set with precious stones, and started from Amīrbāgh at 9 A. M. He was accompanied by all the *sardārs* of the Governor’s Council, the English army, and the paraphernalia of the government, and was followed by a large crowd of people. Thus he went to the *wālājāhī dārul-amāra*, where he took his seat on the throne and shed radiance.²

Immediately after his entry into the *bāgh*, and after he had added grace to the throne with his presence, a salute of guns was fired from the *bāgh*, the fort of Madras (Fort St. George), and ships. All the *sardārs* of the Governor’s Council addressed the Nawwāb with expressions of sympathetic joy on his accession to the throne. After accepting *nadh* from officers

(1) Friday 31st July, 1801 A.D.

(2) The verses which bring out the chronogram of the coronation are given in Appendix C.

who were present in very large numbers, the Nawwāb expressed his thanks to the Governor and other *sardārs* for their benevolence and kindness.

Then he recommended to the Governor that *jāgīrs* might be conferred upon the members of the royal family. The Governor said in reply: "So far none of the members of the royal family had turned up to offer *nadhṛ*. We shall wait for some hours, and see who all come." The Nawwāb gave orders for distributing *itr*, *gulāb*, and *pāndān* to the Governor, the *sardārs* and all those present at the *majlis*. The Governor stayed at that place for some hours looking forward to meet the members of the royal family there. As no one made his appearance, the Governor broke up the assembly. Nawwāb ṣāhib accompanied the Governor and other *sardārs* as far as the gate of the *dīwān-khāna* at the time of leave-taking.

In the meanwhile Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur and Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, who came with *āftāb-gīrī* near the gate of the *dīwān-khāna*, met the Governor and made salaams to him. Mr. Webbe went nearer to them and said: "You did not come at the time of the coronation of the Nawwāb of the Carnatic; but you trouble yourself now by going over here".

Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur replied: "The Nawwāb of the Carnatic was Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur. After him Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, his son, is the ruler of the Carnatic. Invitation to us is not from him. We come now in response to the invitation of the Lord ṣāhib."

Mr. Webbe who had the hint from the Governor said: "Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur did not leave a son by his *khāṣṣ mahall*; the statements and letters from the members of the royal family do not establish the parentage of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur. Consequently those who possess authority, decided to do whatever is expedient. By means of their benevolence and kindness, Nawwāb 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, the grand-son of Muḥammad 'Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, was

CH. 2—DEATH OF TAJU'L-UMARA BAHADUR

seated upon the throne. Whoever wants the friendship of the Company, let him wish the Nawwāb of the Carnatic well, and obey him and make all representations through him; else redressing of grievances will be impossible without his good will."

Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur with a wry face expressing annoyance, broke into invective against Mr. Webbe and left the place. The Governor and the *sardārs* of the Council returned home.

The Governor-in-Council resolved that as long as the traces of the Company's influence remain in this country, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur should not be granted maintenance allowance, and the gratuity fixed for his wife should be sufficient for him also. This order was irrevocable.

Section 6.

Some days after the coronation, the Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāhibā spent thousands of rupees and brought back to original state by rebuilding and repairing Kalas-maḥall and added lustre to it by her presence.

After dealing effectually with all affairs, the English troops departed from the *bāgh*, and went to the Fort.

Section 7.

Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur continued to stay in Nuṣrat-maḥall till he was in possession of that building and Fataḥ-chawkī. After the Nawwāb took possession of these buildings, Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur stayed at the house of Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam for some time. When he suffered from excessive discharge of blood, he moved in the house of his mother, where, after three days, he passed away on the 1st of *Dhu'l-ḥajj*, 1216 A.H., reciting, in his last moment, the following verse composed by himself:

"I am patient like Ḥusayn,¹ afflicted with wounds from head to foot;

I wish my place is in Karbalā."

Immediately after hearing the news of the demise of Tājū'l-Umarā Bahādur, Nawwāb ṣāhib felt sorrow at his death in the prime of life, and sent messages of condolence to his mother and wife through Qurbān 'Alī Khān. The Nawwāb always mourned for him.

THIRD CHAPTER.

1215-1216 A. H.

The description of the courteousness of Amīrūl-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb Aẓīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur, the return of the members of the royal family to the obedience of the Nawwāb, the kindly feeling and consideration of the Nawwāb towards them, the demise of the Nawwāb; the coronation of Nawwāb Aẓam Jāh Bahādur, his excellent administration, his death; the succession of Nawwāb Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur to the Wālājāhī throne and the regency of the great Amīr, son of an Amīr, a councillor with great wisdom, namely, the exalted Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur.

It is clear as day that Aẓīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, out of his kind and benevolent nature, endeavoured always to recommend to the Governor-in-Council, that the members of the royal family should be given maintenance allowances,² in spite of their demeanour towards him. He

(1) Imām Ḥusayn, was the second son of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad (on him be peace) by her husband 'Alī, the fourth *khalīfa*.

Imām Ḥusayn died at Karbalā in 61 A.H., cruelly slain by his son-in-law Yazīd, the son of Mu'āwiya who became *khalīfa* after 'Alī.

(2) For details about allowance to the members of the royal family see Appendix D.

tried often to meet his relatives and brought his personal interest to bear upon their welfare.

Section 2.

After the coronation of 'Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, and during the life-time of Tājū'l-Umarā Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur who had experience and practical knowledge of all details, presented himself before the Nawwāb, attended to all business of the government and tendered his advice on matters pertaining to transactions with the Governor-in-Council. When the English got information of this fact they offered advice to the Nawwāb: "Bahrām Jang Bahādur is not worthy of your highness' association, for, it was at the instance of this person, that letters¹ having harmful effects were written to others during the time of 'Umdatū'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. Therefore it is better to shun him". Nawwāb šāhib was a devoted friend of the Company. He never did anything in opposition to the opinion of the representatives of the Company. They also spoke and wrote at all times in praise of Nawwāb šāhib. Hence the Nawwāb immediately prevented Bahrām Jang Bahādur from coming to the *bāgh*. He appointed Mawlawī Muḥammad Ghawth šāhib, his old teacher, as *dīwān*, to attend to the affairs of his Government. The title *Sharafūl-Mulk Mawlawī Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur* was conferred upon him, and as a mark of favour, he was given *jawāhirāt* and also the privilege of *nawbat*.

The Nawwāb bestowed upon the princes the titles *Amīr* and *Jah*, and upon the brothers of the Nawwāb Bēgam šāhiba the titles *Sharafūl-Umarā Bahādur* and *Mumtāsi'l-Umarā Bahādur*.

Husayn Nawāz Khān I'timādū'l-Mulk was favoured with the title *ʿAzamūl-Umarā*; Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Khān, with the title *ʿAzūd-Dawla Bahādur*; Jāwīd Khān Bahādur with *Tājūd-*

(1) This refers to the Seringapatam Correspondence. See Appendix A,

Dawla Bahādur, and Laṭīf Bēg *Khān* with *Qāyīm Jang Bahādur*. In this manner he conferred dignity upon every one by granting titles and appointing them to situations according to rank. He also gave them *inām*, presented *khilāt* and *dushāla*. He did not attach importance to gold and silver; he dealt with them as dust. He never even cared to have a look at the monthly collections of *qist*.

Some of the members of the royal family, who had too high an opinion of themselves, did not yield submission to Nawwāb ṣāhib for a long time. They suffered many privations and after living in reproach and ignominy for several years, they returned to the obedience of the Nawwāb. He forgave them out of his kind and charitable feeling and granted interviews to every one according to rank. He interceded on their behalf and restored their maintenance allowances due from the Company, and also obtained sanction for the payment of arrears due to them from the Company. He was free in giving them thousands of rupees on occasions like marriage, etc. He fixed gratuity from the funds of his own Government for men from Gopamaw. He showed kindness to all, and acted always philanthropically.

He sent *nadhr* to Makka the honoured, Madīna the illuminated, and other holy places. Soon after he ascended the throne, he fixed a *nadhr* of forty rupees to be given every month in the name of Janāb Sayyid Maḥlūm (Imām Ḥusayn) from the 1st of Muḥarram to two *sayyids* for their maintenance. This grant is continued to this day.

He obtained for Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam and Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur permission from the Company, to go to *Baytullāh* and visit other holy places, presented them with thousands of rupees from his own treasury, and sent them on board a ship in great state. He also arranged with the Company that they should continue to pay the allowances of these members all through their life. In brief, he was an excellent monarch. In

CH. 3—DEATH OF NAWWAB AZIMUD-DAWLA BAHADUR

a narration of his praiseworthy traits the pen is prostrate, its tongues broken.

May Allāh, exalted be He, permit the beneficence and generosity of this glorious person to continue for long years. May the people in Madras and visitors from distant lands continue to receive help from this bountiful person, and gain their desire.

Section 3.

It is incumbent on one and all to pass away from this ephemeral world to the everlasting sphere as per the verse of the holy Qurān "Everyone is doomed to destruction". In accordance with this decree, the Nawwāb, who, like a sun, shed radiance around his subjects, breathed his last on the 9th of Shawwāl, 1234 A.H.¹ (August, 1819 A.D.) and immersed every one in deep sorrow. The vast crowd that assembled in the *Jāmi'-masjid*² to say the prayer for the departed soul, was indicative of the extreme grief and keen regret of the people at the loss of their benevolent ruler.

"Verily we are for Allāh and to Allāh we return".

(1) The ~~vases~~ which bring out the chronogram of the death of Azimud-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III are given in Appendix E.

(2) This refers to the Wālājāhī mosque situated on the Triplicane High Road, Madras.



A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV—182

AZAM JAH BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH IV.

By means of the unmerited favour of God, and the kindness of the exalted Prophet, a successor to Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb Āzīmud-Dawla Bahādur came in the person of Nawwāb A'zam Jāh Bahādur, radiating love and joy, on the 17th of Rabī'u'th-thānī, 1235 A.H.,¹ seven months² after the demise of his predecessor, and his bounty diffused itself through the length and breadth of the land.

By the help of God, his administration was far better than it was before. He conferred dignity upon every one by granting *manṣabs* and service according to rank. He appointed as *dīwān* Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, his dear brother, a sagacious and wise councillor, just as Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur, his noble grandfather, was *dīwān* to Muḥammad Āli Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I. A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV entrusted with his brother all matters even to the smallest detail. Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, the *dīwān*, managed every undertaking with such wisdom and prudence, that the Nawwāb ṣāhib was delighted with him. The people also were contented with his courteousness, justice, equity, and his other eminent qualities, and made devout supplication to God night and day for his long life and prosperity.

A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV appointed as *nā'ib* Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur, his maternal uncle, a person of rank, merit and importance, at the time of his departure in

(1) The chronogram of the coronation of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV is given in Appendix F.

(2) A note on the delay in the recognition of A'zam Jāh Bahādur as the Nawwāb is given in Appendix G.

great state to the holy town of Nāgūr¹ with a large retinue. All relatives, *maḥallāt* and officers went with him; a number of literary men and English *sardārs* formed part of the *entourage*, and a body of English soldiers also acted as escorts to the Nawwāb. Lakhs of rupees were spent on this trip. The Governor-in-Council issued orders that a salute of guns should be fired in all garrisons and forts in accordance with the regulations of the Company.

By the help of God, the Nawwāb reached Nāgūr, paid a visit to the holy shrine, and fulfilled his desire. Then he returned through Tanjore with all his retinue and reached Nattharnagar, where he had the happiness to offer *fātiḥa* to saints enshrined there. Then he journeyed through Vellore, and Muḥammadpur (Arcot) and reached Madras safely after nearly four months. He had the good fortune to offer *fātiḥa* to saints enshrined in all the towns he visited. Plentiful praise be to Allāh. No ruler of the Carnatic since Muḥammad Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I had such a good fortune. A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV conferred dignity upon every town by his liberality.

Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur acted as the *nū'ib* as per the desire of Nawwāb ṣāḥib, and managed every affair very carefully. In recognition of his services, Nawwāb Wālājāh IV appointed him as *bakhshī*.

Nawwāb Wālājāh IV favoured Awliyā ṣāḥib, his old friend, with the title *Ḥafīẓullah Khān Bahādur Ḥafīẓ Yār Jang*, and presented him with *nīm-astīn*, and *rumāl-shāl* from

(1) Ghulām Abdu'l-Qādir Nagūr, who accompanied A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV on his pilgrimage to Nāgūr, has given a detailed account of the journey from Madras to Nāgūr in his Persian book *Bahār-i-A'zamjāhī* mentioning whatever came to his notice every day on the road covered by the royal party with the names of villages, ~~tombs~~ tombs of saints, mosques, *sardārs*, buildings, tanks, gardens and other things of interest.

This book is done into English and it will be published by the Madras University as the Fifth Part in this series.

his own wardrobe. The other servants also were honoured with titles and presents according to rank.

The Nawwāb was also a pious founder of charities, and he devoted himself to works of mercy in a greater measure than the rulers before him. He spent a large sum of money and renovated the *Jāmi'-masjid*, besides furnishing the minarets with golden *kalas*. These facts are well-known to all.

Muḥammad 'Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, during his reign, dispatched *qandīls* to Makka the honoured, and Madīna the illuminated, and a ladder, made of sandal wood, for the use of pilgrims in holy *Ka'ba* at Makka.

This Nawwāb, during his reign, got ready in the *dīwān-khāna* of *Shādi-maḥall*, a gilded ladder covered with elaborate ornamentation of English design, after a fashion such as he loved, employing Sayyid *Şibghatullāh*, an expert in this work, and dispatched it by ship to the holy town on the last day of *Dhulḥajj*, through Sayyid Imāmud-Dīn, an intelligent and experienced person, and other men in the employ of the *sarkār*. Thanks to Allāh! This gift reached its destination in a few days, fulfilling his intention.

By the help of Allāh, when the happy news of its safe arrival in the holy *Ka'ba*, reached the devout Nawwāb šāhib, he prostrated himself as a token of submission to the Almighty.

The Nawwāb appointed Mawlawī Bukhārī šāhib as *ḥakim-i-shara'* to protect the rights of those entitled to have justice. He held that office for some time. Then Muftī Badrud-Dawla Bahādur was appointed in his place. Every one who had justice and truth on his side, had his claims satisfied in accordance with the rule established by *sharī'at*. None was debarred from this right and privilege, and made to feel helpless against the wrongdoer. In brief, the Nawwāb's purpose in religious matters was of such a lofty nature that a description of it lays the writing reed prostrate, its tongues broken.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

The affairs of this life are transient, and no one gets respite when the appointed hour comes. On the 1st of Rabi' u' th- thānī, 1241 A.H.,¹ the candle that shed light on the family of exalted rank was quenched by the violent wind of death, and immersed the world in darkness.

"Verily we are for Allāh and to Allāh we return".

(1) The verses which bring out the chronogram of the death of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wāli Jāh IV are given in Appendix H.



Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Walājāh V.
1825-1855

GHULĀM MUḤAMMAD GHAWTH KHAN BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WALĀJĀH V.

As the world was plunged in deep sorrow and grief over the death of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur, his son, succeeded to the throne of his father, by the help of Allāh, exalted be He, on the 12th of Jumādiu'l-awwal, 1241 A.H.¹ shedding radiance everywhere. His claim to the title was supported and confirmed by his venerable uncle, Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, the beloved brother of the late A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur was the most unique person ever found in his time. He was the Ḥātim² of his age, without a rival in his estimate of men and things; an excellent administrator, illustrious by birth and rank, brave as a lion, preciously generous, well-versed in religion and experienced in the art of governing. He was like a sun in meting out justice, proficient in the affairs of the kingdom, a man of light and leading, the fountain of bounty, and the embodiment of munificence and liberality.

May Allāh, exalted be He, keep Nawwāb Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur under the benign care of the exalted Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur.

As Nawwāb Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur was a minor, Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, in accordance with the orders of the Governor-in-Council, both from Madras and

(1) The verses which give the date of the coronation of Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V are given in Appendix I.

(2) Ḥātim of the tribe of Tayyi' was celebrated in the whole of Arabia for his unbounded generosity. He protected the poor, entertained the guests, satisfied the hungry and consoled the afflicted. He never turned away any who sought of him a favour.

Bengal and of the King of England, assumed the reins of Government and conducted the affairs of the state as Regent.¹ He managed everything well, giving satisfaction to all. The cords of friendship and amity between the Nawwāb and the English were maintained by keeping up correspondence with the Company and the English king. All kinds of people were pleased with his rule, courteousness, kindness, and his experience and knowledge. Nawwāb Bēgam sāhibā, the mother of Nawwāb Āẓīm Jāh, was well pleased with the manner of his administration and his feeling of reverence for her. All the members of the family from the young to the more advanced in age, and officers of all ranks, were grateful to him for his numerous gifts; they expressed their heartfelt thanks and regarded him with reverence.

In accordance with his good faith, the Nawwāb-Regent made arrangements every year to celebrate the birth of the exalted Prophet (peace be on him) in the month of Rabī'ū'l-awwal. He arranged to decorate the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall every night, from the 3rd to the 11th of that month, with *qandīl* and *farsh* and beautified it with the picture of the city of Madīna the illuminated. The lamps were burnt from the time of the *sun-set prayer* till midnight. All the *amīrs*, nobles, *ālīms*, *shaykhs* and officers assembled there in response to the invitation, partook of food after *fātiḥa*, and listened to *ḥadīth* and *manāqib* of the Prophet, that would bring them good luck in both the worlds. On the morning of the 12th, all the guests presented themselves, clad in rich and clean clothes, moved in a group round the picture of Madīna, and then listened to the *khatm-i-ḥadīth* and *manāqib*. After the *khatm*, the Nawwāb-Regent presented every one who took part in the recitation, with *khilāt*, *dushāla*, *shāl*, or cash according to rank. A salute of twenty-one guns in recognition of the celeb-

(1) The verses which commemorate the date of the appointment of Nawwāb Āẓīm Jāh Bahādur as Regent are given in Appendix J.

ration, was fired from the *bāgh*, and the fort of Madras. The Nawwāb issued orders that a salute should be fired from his own army. By the time they went through this programme, food would be ready for *fātiḥa*. After saying *fātiḥa*, they had their food.

Section 4.

Arrangements of the same kind were made for celebration in the month of Rabī'ū'th-thānī. Every evening from the first of that month all *'ālims*, *fāzils* and *shaykhs* assembled in the *dīwān-khāna* of Humāyūn-maḥall after the *sun-set prayer* and had their dinner after saying *fātiḥa* for Maḥbūb-Subḥānī.¹ Then they listened to the sayings and the *manāqib* of the exalted saint. In accordance with the orders of the Nawwāb-Regent, other guests presented themselves in good faith, listened to the sayings and *manāqib* of the holy saint and received immense benefit by it. On the morning of the 11th also the Nawwāb made arrangements for a *majlis* when *fātiḥa* was said and food served to all. Thus the Nawwāb-Regent raised his own reputation.

The Regent kept up other *fātiḥas* in memory of the holy saints of Islam every month on dates fixed as per custom. He

(1) Sayyid or *Shaykh* Abdūl-Qādir Jilānī Ḥusaynūl-Ḥusaynī was the founder of the Qādiriyya order of mendicants. He takes his name *Jilānī* from his birth place Jilān or Gilān in Western Persia.

He was born in 1078 A.D. and joined to divine mercy in February 1166, at Baghdād, where his tomb is still held in great veneration. He is esteemed as the chief *wali* or saint.

The festival of this saint, *Pīr-i-Dastgīr*, is held on the 11th of Rabī'ū'th-thānī. His holiness (may Allāh sanctify his resting place) has ninety-nine names. The chief and the best known are *Pīrān-i-pīr* 'chief of saints', *Ghawthul-A'zam* 'the great saint', *Ghawthūṣ-ṣamadānī*, the eternal saint, *Maḥbūb-i-subḥānī* 'the beloved divine', *Mīrān-Muḥiyyud-Dīn* 'the reviver of religion'.

For details on the festival of *Pīr-i-Dastgīr* see Herklots, *Islam in India*, pp. 192-194.

also observed the anniversary of the birth day of Nawwāb Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh V on the 20th of Rabī'uth-thānī, the anniversary of his coronation on the 12th of Jumādiu'l-awwal, and also the anniversary of his own birth day on the 21st of Jumādiu'l-awwal. The yearly returns of these dates were celebrated with great rites and festivities; all people were favoured with presents of *javāhirāt* according to rank, and ennobled with titles, or presents of *khilāt* or *dushāla*.

Section 5.

Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, the Regent, regarded Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Amīru'l-Mulk Bahādur as the most unique man of his times, a good judge of character and qualities, well-versed in the affairs of government, with incomparable good disposition and excellence, and looked upon him as the most distinguished person. In recognition of his merits the Nawwāb-Regent appointed him as *dīwān*, although he was holding already the office of *bakhshī* of the *sarkār*.

During the days of Muḥammad 'Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur, who was appointed to the office of *dīwān* by his father, was diligent and attentive to his duties. In the same manner Mumtāzu'l-Umarā 'also applied himself to his work as *dīwān* with such wisdom in accordance with the traditions handed down from his ancestors, that the Nawwāb-Regent was well pleased, and delighted with his administration. The officers in the *darbār*, as well as the *mutawassilīn* of the *sarkār* were grateful to him.

'Umdatul-'Ulamā Mufti Badru'd-Dawla Bahādur, the dear brother of Sharafu'l-Mulk Bahādur, a distinguished man in his knowledge of law, and elevator of the flag of *sharīāt*, held the post of *bakhshī* of the *sarkār*. The Nawwāb seated this 'Umdatul-'Ulamā on the *masnad* of *sharīāt* to protect the rights of those entitled to have justice, give peace to the

people at large and preserve the good name and dignity of the members of the royal family.

Mawlawī Jamālu'd-Dīn Ḥasan Khān, the officer who was executing the orders of the court of justice, was dismissed for his unwise conduct in following the manner of Mawlawī Rāmpūrī, and in his place Mawlawī Aḥmad Kalīm Khān, an able and wise person was appointed.

Some of the petitions presented to the Nawwāb were inquired into by Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur according to his direction. Mumtāzu'l-Umarā held his court of inquiry in the *kachahrī Dīvānī* and passed excellent judgments on matters that came up for hearing.

Mawlawī Shihābu'd-Dīn Khān was in charge of the *madrasa* for males maintained by the *sarkār*. The *madrasa* was open to all who wished to derive benefit from a knowledge of religion. Muftī Badru'd-Dawla was the Director of the *madrasa*.

Aẓam Nawāz Khān, son of Ḥājī Maghribī ṣāhib, who was one of the old companions of Muḥammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, was appointed *mutawallī* of mosques.

Qudratullāh Khān was appointed *mutawallī* to look after the tombs of Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, and Aẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV in the compound of the *Jāmi'-masjid*.

Tuesday was a holiday for learned men in religion. On that day Qāzī Sayyid Abdullāh Khān, Mawlawī Jamāl ṣāhib and other 'ālīms remained in the presence of the Nawwāb-Regent at the time of *darbār* for about an hour, discussing the laws and problems connected with religion. The discussions of the Nawwāb-Regent with 'ālīms always centred round the Qurān and Traditions.¹ Sometimes, men assembled in the

(1) *Ḥadīth* (Traditions). During the life-time of the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be on him) it was the custom that when two Muslims met, one should ask for news (*ḥadīth*) and the other should relate a saying or

darbār, made petitions to the Regent, and he inquired into them. About the time of the *afternoon-prayer* he dismissed the *darbār* and said the prayer with the congregation and then went on a *rawn sawārī* as usual.

On Friday, the day for pious works for the servants of Allāh, the *darbār* and all *kachahrīs* were closed so that people might devote themselves to Allāh on that day.

Section 6.

During the early days of his regency in the year 1243 A.H. Nawwāb Āẓīm Jāh Bahādur arranged to repair the big *dīwān-khāna* in Kalas-maḥall on the occasion of the festivities of *bismillāh-khwānī* of Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawṭh Khān Bahādur Amīr-ul-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh V, the son of his beloved brother. The *dīwān-khāna* was furnished with fabrics of *makhmal* and *bānāt*. *Qandīls* of different colours and pattern and *kanwal* were fitted up in suitable places. A sunshade of red *bānāt* was erected in front of the *dīwān-khāna*. A golden throne with a *shāmiyāna* adorned with jewels, was placed inside the *dīwān-khāna*. The Nawwāb-Regent arranged to distribute *khiṭāt* in different colours with embroidered work, and with borders fitted with *muhra* of equal size, to men of rank among relatives, nobles, distinguished men and officers. He also honoured many persons of the Company, gentlemen and ladies, young and old with gifts according to rank. *Tōra* of *shīrīnī*, ranging from two to seven trays were distributed to *munshīs* and others.

The Nawwāb-Regent began the festive proceedings in *Shādi-maḥall*. He gathered all female relatives, and there was gaiety and rejoicing in the *dīwān-khāna* of the *bāgh*, for three

anecdote of the Prophet. After his demise this custom continued and the name *ḥadīth*, which primarily denoted a narrative or a report, has come to mean, in the Islamic theological usage, the records of the sayings and doings of the Prophet, and is translated in English as Traditions.

or four days, the time passed away in feasting and singing. The Nawwāb, out of parental affection, decked the prince with robes adorned with embroidery and *jawāhir*; then he started with him in state from Shādī-maḥall at about 8 P. M. There were many lamps; fireworks gave more spectacular effect, the whole procession resembling a *barāt*. In this manner the prince was led from Shādī-maḥall to the big *dīwān-khāna* in Kalas-maḥall where he was seated on the golden throne. Then the Nawwāb honoured the nobles and officers with titles, presented them with *jawāhir*, and varicoloured *dushāla*. Then *‘itr* and *pāndān* were distributed. In this manner the festivities were observed day by day. On the day of the ceremony there was greater rejoicing. There was a very large gathering of people at the *majlis*, but the writer of this book did not have the luck to be present at the *majlis* for various reasons. Mīr Khurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī, my friend, read out on the occasion the benefactory *ghazals* in the Hindi language.¹

Section 7.

— Nawwāb Azīm Jāh Bahādur, the Regent, carried on the administration with such wisdom and prudence that he gave satisfaction to all. The pen has not the power to set forth in detail his experience and knowledge in administration.

He brought back to original state by rebuilding and repairing all the buildings within the limits of *Dār-ul-amāra* of Shādī-maḥall.

“How beautiful is the finish of the building;

You cannot take away your eyes from it.”

In 1247 A.H. the Nawwāb-Regent built a new building for his own residence in the compound of Shādī-maḥall situated on the High road (in Triplicane). It is a marvellous edifice; its height and extensiveness would inspire people with

(1) For verses see Appendix K.

pleasant feelings. Mīr Khurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī composed a few verses¹ in Persian, indicating the date of the construction of that palace, and submitted them to the Nawwāb-Regent through this humble servant.

Section 8.

All praise be to Allāh. Nawwāb ʿAzīm Jāh Sirāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, the Regent invested with absolute power and authority to carry on administration during the minority of his dear brother's son Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V, added lustre to the government transmitted from one generation to another, by his characteristic experience and knowledge in all matters.

He improved and furnished with adornments the offices of the government. He set up *kachahrīs*, one quite separate from another, in the big *bāgh* of the *wālājāhī dārul-amāra*. Of these:

Dārul-ʿadālat-i-ʿāliya and *Kār-i-ṣadārat* were in charge of Muftī Umdatul-Ulamā Badru'd-Dawla Bahādur;

the *kachahrī Munfidh-i-aḥkām* was entrusted to Mawlawī Aḥmad Kalīm Khān;

the *kachahrī Bakhshī-girī* was entrusted to Sharaful-Mulk Bahādur, the *bakhshī*;

the *kachahrī Khān-sāmānī* was under the care of Amīr Nawāz Jang Bahādur, the *mīr-sāmān*.

Dārughas were appointed to take care of the *julū-khāna* and such other *kār-khānas* of the government. These men attended offices at stated hours and carried on their business judiciously and with good will.

There were also other *kachahrīs* in the *dārul-amāra* of Shādī-maḥall. These offices began work from about 12 o'clock or 1 P.M. Of these the following *kachahrīs*, *Khazāna*, *Dīwānī*, and *Tanqīh* were under the care of Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Amīrul-

(1) For verses see Appendix L.

CH. 3—REGENCY OF NAWWAB AẒIM JAH BAHĀDUR

Mulk Bahādur, the *madārīʿl-muhām*; the *kachahrī Dārūʿl-inshā angrēzī* under Munshī Maḥmūd ʿAlī Khān Bahādur; the *kachahrī Dārūʿl-inshā khāṣṣ fārsī* under Rāja Bhakunt Rāi Bahādur, the *mīr-munshī* of the Nawwāb. ʿUmar Nawāz Khān was the *qalamdān-bardār* in that *kachahrī*. All these officers were attentive to duties entrusted to them. They dealt with statements of accounts and letters.

The Nawwāb-Regent used to leave his *maḥall-sarāi* at about three o'clock in the afternoon, and shed light in the palace by his presence. Then he said the *mid-day prayer* and took his seat on the *masnad*. At that time the *mujrāiyān* halted at the *ādābgāh* and each made obeisance to the Nawwāb. Some of these left the *darbār* while some stayed. Those who stayed usually were *Sharafuʿl-Mulk* Bahādur, Muftī Badruʿd-Dawla Bahādur, ʿAzīz Nawāz Khān Bahādur, Aʿzam Nawāz Khān, Qudratullāh Khān, Muḥammad Fakhrūʿd-Dīn Khān, Ḥakīm Taqī Nawāz Khān Bahādur, Ḥakīm Ḥādhiq Yār Khān, Munʿim Nawāz Khān, besides five or six members of the royal family like Ḥājī Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān (now enjoying the title *Naṣīrūʿl-Mulk*). Sometimes Ḡhulām Muḥammad Maẓhar ʿAlī Khān (now enjoying the title *Husāmūʿl-Mulk Bahādur*) and others were also present at the *darbār*.

Those who were present at the *darbār* submitted their petitions. Multamis Khān, the *urṣ-begī* wrote out a brief summary on the back of each petition and submitted it for the perusal of the Regent. This humble person, the *nāẓir* of the *Dārūʿl-inshā khāṣṣ fārsī*, was generally present at the *darbār* with the *munshīs* of that *kachahrī* bringing all papers. Mumtāzuʿl-Umarā Bahādur, the *madārīʿl-muhām*, was also present at the *darbār* with one or two *munshīs* of the *Diwānī* and *mutaṣaddīs* of the *Khazāna*, and submitted such of the petitions as required the direction of the Regent for disposal. He also presented to the Nawwāb-Regent the peti-

tions that came the previous day along with his own decisions thereon, and obtained the Regent's opinion. Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur then obtained the Regent's signature on the papers pertaining to the *Khazāna* and other *kachahrīs*.

The petitions that were presented at the *darbār* were perused by the Nawwāb-Regent and after orders were written on them by the *munshīs* under his directions they were sent to the *kachahrī Dīwānī*.

The *sarishtadār* entrusted with receipts for the payment of allowances due to the members of the royal family and others presented the receipts to the Regent for his signature. After obtaining his signature the *sarishtadār* would request that seal might be affixed in addition to signature as guarantee of authenticity. Then Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur, in accordance with the order of the Nawwāb-Regent, brought the box which contained the seal, and set the Regent's seal to all the receipts. If by that time the *ināyatnāmas* were ready, the signature of the Regent was obtained and seal was affixed in the same manner.

Munshī Maḥmūd 'Alī Khān Bahādur brought to the Nawwāb-Regent the letters written in English and their translations, narrated in detail all the facts, and received instructions in regard to the manner of reply for each letter. Then he went back to his *kachahrī* and wrote out the replies as per the directions of the Nawwāb-Regent.

Sometimes Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V, used to be present with his companions at the *darbār* of his venerable uncle the Regent, and paid his obeisance to him. The young Nawwāb, as per the instruction of his uncle, sat with him on the same *masnad* an hour or two. Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, out of regard and affection for his brother's son, spoke to him kindly with a cheerful face, words full of wisdom. He showed him State papers with a view to acquaint him with the affairs of the government. Then

CH. 3—REGENCY OF NAWWAB AZĪM JĀH BAHĀDUR

Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V took leave of his venerable uncle and returned to his residence. May Allāh, exalted be He, keep him safe under the protection of his grandmother, the noble mother, and the venerable uncle, for long years. May He fulfil all the desires of the young Nawwāb.

Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, the Regent, out of his kindness and paternal affection, appointed tutors who had general charge of the education of his brother's son, Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V. These tutors were chosen from among those who were illustrious by rank, title or birth and famous for their lofty character and ideals. They were learned and proficient. Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur used to inquire constantly about the progress of the young Nawwāb's studies. The tutors presented themselves each at the appointed time before the young Nawwāb, in obedience to the command of the Nawwāb-Regent, and occupied themselves with their course of systematic instruction. Every day these tutors presented themselves at the *darbār* of the Nawwāb-Regent and gave him a report of their work.

Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, the Regent, dissolved the *darbār* after the work was finished. Then he said his *afternoon-prayer* and went on a *rawn-sawārī*.

*Kindness of Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, the Regent,
to his companions*

Two or three persons from among the members of the royal family had the honour of being the companions of Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur. The kindness shown by the Nawwāb-Regent to I'tizādu'l-mulk Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Khān Bahādur and this humble servant, from the days of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, increased day by day, and it is very

difficult to describe his affection. May Allāh, exalted be He, keep him safe for many more years.

Every year Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, the Regent, shed lustre on the poor houses of his humble companions, on the occasion of some ceremony. Sometimes out of his kindness the Nawwāb-Regent paid visits to their houses even if there was no such occasion. He helped them with money to meet the expenses on occasions of ceremony.

Āzizullāh Khān Bahādur Ashraf Jang, who had the privilege of being a companion of the Nawwāb-Regent, was present day and night and attended to all work in the palace.

Miṣbāḥullāh Khān Bahādur was *dārogha* of *Tōshak-khāna* from the early days. The Nawwāb-Regent out of his benevolent nature and in consideration of the long service of the *dārogha* conferred upon him the title *Multazim Jang*, presented him with *dushāla* and *javāhir*, appointed him *mīr-sāmān* of the *kār-khāna* pertaining to the *jāgīr* of Ḥaydarābād, and sent him to that district.

Ḥafīẓullāh Khān Bahādur Ḥāfiẓ Yār Jang, who could recite from memory the entire Qurān, was a person of rank, and a companion of Āzām Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. He was also one of the companions of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur the Regent, from his youth. He was honoured by the Nawwāb-Regent with *manṣab* and *marātib* and with presents of *javāhir*. Ḥafīẓullāh Khān Bahādur continued to be a constant companion of the Regent. Every year in the month of Rabī'ul-awwal the Nawwāb-Regent visited the house of Ḥafīẓullāh Khān Bahādur in accordance with his request on the occasion of the *siyārat* of *āthār-i-sharīf*. Next day the Nawwāb-Regent shed lustre on Ḥafīẓ-bāgh, opposite to Āzīm-bāgh, after the *sun-set prayer*, with nobles, courtiers, and others, on the occasion of the birthday celebrations of the holy Prophet, the leader in both the worlds, as Āzām Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV was won't to do.

CH. 3—REGENCY OF NAWWĀB ĀZIM JĀH BAHĀDUR

Another important person was Ḥakīm Jamālu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Ḥakīm Yār Jāng. He was an expert in his profession and a *dast-i-shifā*. He was in charge of the Nawwāb-Regent's *shifā-khāna*. The Regent honoured him with *manṣab* and *marātib*, and presented him with *jawāhir*. This *hakīm* was always with the Nawwāb-Regent.

Wajihullāh Khān Bahādur, an old companion of Āzimu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, was engaged in the service suited to his rank; he also became the Regent's companion.

Section 9.

The Nawwāb-Regent was so benevolent and kind that he endeavoured to assist every one in possession of receipts entitling him to receive monthly allowances or fixed pensions from the Company, whether he be a member of the royal family or an outsider. He also arranged with the Company about the transfer of such receipts in the name of the descendants of the pensionary immediately after his death.

~ If any one of the sons belonging to the royal family, or the family of nobles or of officers, was found able and intelligent; the Nawwāb-Regent appointed him to the post held by his father and conferred upon him the title and *manṣab* enjoyed by his father. No one failed to get his due from this benevolent government. On the other hand every one found his mark of honour according to his rank and ability. May Allāh, exalted be He, keep this *darbār*, which offers such chances, safe for many years in all glory.

The Nawwāb-Regent also conferred titles upon the nobles and members of the government, presented them with *khilāt*, and *jawāhir* according to rank on occasions of festivities like the celebration of the anniversary of coronation, birth day, and such other periodic festivities.

Section 10.

In accordance with the custom¹ established during the days of the two Nawwābs, Āzimu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, and A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, the Nawwāb-Regent celebrated the 'urs of the holy saints Budū Shahīd, and Pir Pahlawān ṣāhib on the dates prescribed for the festivities, paying all expenses. He sent to the *dargāh* tents and other requisite things from every *kār-khāna*, and gave instructions in regard to the pitching of tents, etc. After everything was made ready he started to the *dargāh* with *maḥallāt*. All the officers and other servants also went there. After saying *fātiḥa*, he gave every one presents and *bhattā* according to rank. The Nawwāb-Regent recreated himself with his stay at the *dargāh* for a day or two and then returned home.

Section 11.

During hot weather generally the Nawwāb-Regent went with his *maḥallāt* on an excursion to the *bāghs* owned by the *sarkār*. Each *bāgh* was a large tract covered with trees and interspersed with small streams, and water-springs in a manner to excite the envy of *gulistān*. After a short stay for two or three days in such *bāghs* the Nawwāb-Regent returned to his palace.

After celebrating the 'urs of Āzimu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III on the 14th of Shawwal 1245 A.H. (April 1830 A.D.) the Nawwāb-Regent took a trip to Rōshan-bāgh situated on the bank of the river in Sayyidābād. An elegant bungalow covered with thatch was put up in that *bāgh*.

(1) The custom of celebrating the 'urs in memory of Budū Shahīd and Pir Pahlawān ṣāhib was prevalent even in the days of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. See *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part III, pp. 141-143.



Azīm Jāh Bahādur
the Nawwāb-Regent from Dec. 1825.

It was furnished with *farsh* and *qālīn* in all shades of colours. *Qandīls* of various patterns were hung in suitable places and tents were erected wherever necessary. The *maḥallāt*, relatives and nobles went with the Nawwāb-Regent. They stayed there from the 15th of *Shawwāl* till the 7th of *Dhul-ḥajj*. Thousands of rupees were spent on that trip. They had a happy time, enjoying various entertainments. All the officers and the companions of the Regent including this humble servant, had the honour to be present in that *bāgh*. The Nawwāb-Regent and the Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba were giving without stint to everyone according to rank. Arrangements were made to serve food to everyone twice a day. It was choice kind of food, with a plentiful supply of different kinds of fruits. During that time this humble slave was afflicted with sorrow on account of the death of Kaniz-i-zahra, his first wife. She was the granddaughter of Muḥammad 'Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I and the mother of Iftikhārū'l-Mulk Naṣībū'd-Dawla Muḥammadi Miyān. May Allāh protect others from such misfortune. This humble servant was in a state of deep depression on account of this grievous loss. May Allāh, exalted be He, keep the Nawwāb-Regent safe in all prosperity, for he is benevolent and kind; his compassion is such that it comforts sorrow-stricken people. He invited this humble servant, who had a stricken heart, to come to Rōshan-bāgh and made him indulge in recreation with a view to relieve him of his distress.

I struck upon an idea: when many of my sisters-in-law joined to the mercy of Allāh and my brothers' houses became defaced, and deranged, the kindness and benevolence of Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba and the Nawwāb-Regent enabled my brothers to marry again and bring back the houses to their original brightness and briskness. So it struck me that my ruined house also might be restored to its original state through the favours of their highnesses. One day I gave out my idea in a way to Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba. Then I was looking for a

favourable time to speak to the Nawwāb-Regent and gain my purpose.

One day when I found the Nawwāb-Regent in a good temper I submitted: "I am suffering from hardship on account of the death of the mother of Iftikhāru'l-Mulk Naṣību'd-Dawla Bahādur. I am not at all inclined to marry again, yet the severe suffering and want of the comforts of life compel me to take a wife. I have need of the kindness of your highness and that of Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāhibā. During the reign of Muḥammad Āli Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, my grandfather, I was first married in 1206 A.H. (1791 A.D.) to the daughter of Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāhibā, my own aunt. A large sum of money was spent on that occasion, and all the ceremonials were observed. Now I could not get a bride having the same grade of dignity as that of my late Bēgam. Hence I wish, with the help of Allāh, to take a second wife, from a family celebrated for their lineage, the descendants of the daughter of the Prophet.

"Muḥammad Āli Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, and Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, my two grandfathers, and A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, these three took their wives for the first time, from among the descendants of Fāṭima. Again, your highness, our compassionate and benevolent ruler, enjoying the unmerited favour of Allāh, first took for your consort the younger sister of the queen consort of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, a *sayyida*. Amīru'd-Dawla Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur my uncle, and Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur Sirāju'l-Mulk my brother, also married each a *sayyida*. Thus some of the members of the Wālājāhī family had taken wives outside our clan, and these might be taken as examples. Considering these facts I humbly request that if your highness and Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāhibā could permit me, I wish to take a second wife from outside our clan".

CH. 3.—MARRIAGE OF MUḤAMMAD KARIM

Praise be to Allāh! Immediately after hearing the representations of this humble person, the Nawwāb-Regent replied: "Yes. I shall be very glad indeed to see you in full prosperity."

This suppliant paid his obeisance to the Nawwāb-Regent expressing his thanks to him for the favourable reply. Since that day I endeavoured to find a suitable bride. As a result of my inquiry it came to be known that there was the eldest granddaughter of Sayyid Muḥammad ṣāhib of Bijapur, one of the ancient *mashāyikh*, a *sayyid*, illustrious by birth and a nobleman. She was residing at Maḥammadpūr (Arcot). Her name was Ābida Bēgam known as Umda Bēgam. She traced her genealogy back to Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur the senior.

Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur was an illustrious person by birth and rank, an *amīr* of high rank and an *Aṣafiyya manṣab-dār*. He was a minister of Muḥammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, his *diwān* and *nā'ib* of the *ṣūba* of Dārū'n-nūr Muḥammadpūr (Arcot).

I considered that an alliance with Ābida Bēgam would be good for me, and arranged for it through Mīr Munawwar Ḥusayn, and Mīr Abbās Ḥusayn, the sons of Mīr Ālī Yār Khān, after great trouble. Mīr Khurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī, the grandson of Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, and also his heir, happened to be my old companion. I sent him on the 29th of Dhū'l-qa'da, 1245 A.H. to bring the bride and her relatives from Muḥammadpūr. He returned to Madras in twenty days with the bride and others.

I made arrangements for the *fātiḥa* on the day of the first anniversary of the death of my late Bēgam. As I had not enough funds to celebrate the marriage in a manner suited to my rank, I left for Karampāk (Kodambakkam) on the 14th of Dhul-ḥajj, 1245 A.H. (1829 A.D.) sending information about it to Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāhibā and the Nawwāb-Regent. At Karampāk I took up my residence in the building of Ja'farjī Bohra. This building

was, later on, purchased by Khān Ālam Khān Bahādur. With the help of Allāh the marriage festivities were begun in accordance with the customs prevalent in the Deccan, like *barī*, *barāt jakwa* and such other prominent items suited for the joyous occasion. The festivities continued for five or six days. On the 19th of Dhul-hajj, the brile was conducted in a fitting manner from Karampāk to Aḥmadī-bāgh, my own residence. This Aḥmadī-bāgh was known as the Bāgh-i-kamtan. After I bought it I settled it, of my own free will, on my late wife in consideration of *mahr*. The bride was received in this house and arrangements for other marriage ceremonies were made through my daughter-in-law.

Next day, which happened to be the anniversary of my birth-day, the Nawwāb-Regent, out of his usual kindness, shed lustre on my house by his presence as he was wont to do every year. He also bestowed honour on the zenana. He conferred dignity upon the new Bēgam by presenting her with his own hand the seal inscribed with the words *Najmūn-nisā Bēgam*. He also honoured her with the presents of *khiltat* with embroidered work, and a *dushāla* of scarlet colour. The Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba, who always bestowed upon us a shower of gifts, sent as presents to the bride a pearl *nath* and a *lachchhlā* of high value through Baṛī-bībī, the wife by *nikāḥ* of Muḥammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I. The benevolent Nawwāb ṣāḥib provided this humble servant with the money necessary for marriage expenses.

Some months later, the kind Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba invited the Bēgam of this humble servant to come to her palace on the occasion of the festivities of the birth-day of the exalted Nawwāb in the year 1246 A.H. (1830 A.D.)

Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba honoured the bride on the occasion of *rānumā'i* with the presents of a tray full of coins, *pāndān*, *'īṭr-dān*, *gulāb-pāḥ*, and a *changēr*, and thus elevated her in the

eyes of her equals. Then she spoke kindly in praise of the bride addressing jovially those present at the *majlis*:

“As the marriage of this lady was celebrated in conformity with the ceremonials observed generally in the Deccan, the ceremony of *thāl*, usually a custom prevalent in Gopamaw, was not observed. The custom in Gopamaw is as follows: If the *sihrā* is fastened to the bride in any of the house of her relatives, that relative would perform the ceremony of *thāl*. As this marriage was not celebrated in accordance with the ceremonials prevalent in Gopamaw, the *thāl* ceremony also was not observed. A tray full of coins alone was given at the *rūnumā’ī* besides flowers and other things.”

Some years ago, my Bēgam had purchased as her personal property a house contiguous to Aḥmadi-bāgh, and named it as *Khurshīd mahall*. Now we took up our residence there after sending information about it to the Nawwāb-Regent and Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba. Mīr *Khurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī* has recorded this event in verses.¹

The Nawwāb-Regent always bestows upon us a shower of gifts. It is very difficult to describe his generosity.

(1) For verses see Appendix M.

PART IV.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

An account of a series of princes, the descendants of the king Tīmūr, who came from Delhi to Madras from the days of Muḥammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, right up to the time of Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur the Nawwāb-Regent; the genealogical tables of the families of Anwar, Wālājāh and Khayrū'd-Dīn Khān, and their children; the Khātima being an account of the author of this book.

PRINCE MĪRZĀ HUMĀYŪN BAKHT BAHĀDUR

Mīrzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahādur, a prince illustrious by rank, arrived at Madras with *maḥallāt* and his retinue in the year 12—A.H.¹ during the reign of Muḥammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

One day Nawwāb Wālājāh I arranged to decorate his *darbār* in Kalas-maḥall in a good style worthy of a ruler and invited the illustrious prince Mīrzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahādur in a manner suited to his *maṇṣab* and *marātib* and had an interview with him. Then he sent him back to his residence in Mylapore along with Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, Amīrū'd-Dawla Bahādur, Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur and officers like Mubārīz Jang Bahādur and Sālār Jang Bahādur for courtesy's sake. The noble prince Mīrzā was residing in

(1) The writer of this chronicle does not give the dates fully.

Mylapore at the building¹ put up by Muḥammad Kamāl,² who was brought up in the family of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahīd. This building was owned by the *sarkār* at that time. It was furnished with *farsh*, *shāmiyāna*, and *masnad* and fitted with *qandīls*. Next day Nawwāb Wālājāh I paid a return visit and had the pleasure of meeting the prince Mīrzā.

Nawwāb Wālājāh I addressed joyfully Mubāriz Jang Bahādur and others present as follows:

“ Praise be to Allāh! I give thanks to Allāh the Creator, for, the mean house of this humble and low servant of Ḥaẓrat Māhbūb Subḥānī, and the zealously loyal servant of the Emperor Muḥammad Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Ālī Gawhar Shāh Ālam Bahādur Pādshāh Ghāzī, is lighted up by the presence of the illustrious prince, a descendant of king Tīmūr. His visit has raised the status of the government of this unworthy atom.”

As long as he lived Nawwāb Wālājāh I continued to inquire about the prince Mīrzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahādur.

During the lifetime of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam maintained in secrecy friendly correspondence with Fayẓu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, the noble Bēgam of the prince Mīrzā. When 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II ascended the throne after his father, Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam had the proud privilege of receiving Fayẓu'n-nisā Begam ṣāḥiba at her own *maḥall* with great honour suited to her rank. Thus Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam kept warm the bond of union, and promoted the friendship to a greater degree.

(1) This may be identified with the building now known as *Leith castle* in San Thome, Mylapore.

(2) For an account of Muḥammad Kamāl See *Sources of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic* Part II, pp. 175-177.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV—Pt. IV
PRINCE MĪRZĀ ĀLĪ BAKHT BAHĀDUR AND MĪRZĀ
MUḤAMMAD AMĪNU'D-DĪN ŠAḤĪB.

During the reign of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Amīru'l-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh II, Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur another illustrious prince, visited Madras in 1211 A.H. (1796 A.D.) He was the most unique prince, deeply read and an erudite scholar.¹

Two or three days after his arrival 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II arranged to decorate the *dīwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall and invited the prince Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur in a manner suited to his rank and had an interview with him. He then sent him to 'Ināyat-bāgh well-known as the bungalow of Brajdās Mudali, along with Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur, Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, Bahrām Jang Bahādur and Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur. Next day the Nawwāb went with his nephews, and the nobles and paid a return visit, and became ennobled by meeting him. Nawwāb Wālājāh II provided for all his expenses.

One day, Nawwāb Wālājāh II, in the course of a talk with the prince, inquired of him about his family and why they were left at home and not invited to Madras. The Prince replied that he could not make provision for their journey. Then Nawwāb šaḥib obtained information from the prince about the number of people and the sum required for the journey, and sent a *hundī* for that amount to Lucknow.

After some time Mīrzā Muḥammad Amīnu'd-Dīn šaḥib known as Mīrzā Amānī šaḥib, the younger brother of the prince, reached Madras with the family of his elder brother, in the year 1213 A.H. (1798 A.D.) The day after his arrival, Mīrzā Ālī Bakht-Bahādur, after sending information to the

(1) He is the author of many books. The chief of these are *Wāqīūt-i-Aḡfari*, and *Dīwān-i-Aḡfari*, which have been published by the University of Madras, 1937, and 1938.

Nawwāb, went with Mīrzā Amānī šāhib, his brother, and presented him to Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

After the interview, Nawwāb Wālājāh II made provision for the expenses of Mīrzā Amānī šāhib and the Bēgam of Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur. The Nawwāb frequently inquired about them, and he kept on friendly relationship with them throughout his life.

Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur, and his Bēgam carried on correspondence with the Government of Nawwāb Wālājāh II on all matters in which they had interest through the mediation of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam. Sulṭānu'n-nisā invited the Bēgam of Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur and her two daughters with great respect and introduced them to her own two sisters. They were all very happy to meet each other. Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam kept on the friendship with the royal guests.

PRINCE MĪRZĀ TĀJU'D-DĪN BAHĀDUR.

Prince Mīrzā Tāju'd-Dīn Bahādur reached Madras in 12—A.H., with his *maḥallāt* and sons during the last days of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur when he was in his death-bed. The prince took up his residence in the *bāgh* of Dādē-Shāh šāhib. As Nawwāb šāhib was seriously ill, the prince could not meet him. When Āẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Amīru'l-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh III ascended the throne, Mīrzā Tāju'd-Dīn Bahādur had an interview with the new Nawwāb in the big *diwān-khāna* of Kalas-maḥall.

PRINCE MĪRZĀ IZID BAKHSH BAHĀDUR.

During the reign of Āẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur got two years leave in 12—A.H., from the Governor of Madras, through the mediation

of Nawwāb Wālājāh III, to go to Lucknow and visit prince Mīrzā Jalālu'd-Dīn, his own younger brother. Prince Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur went alone leaving his family at Madras. He reached Calcutta by sea. There he learnt that Mīrzā Jalālu'd-Dīn Bahādur had gone to Murshidābād with his younger son, Mīrzā Izid Bakhsh Bahādur. Then Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur took leave of the Governor of Calcutta, and went to Murshidābād where he met his brother. A few days after, Mīrzā Jalālu'd-Dīn Bahādur, who was suffering from cancer, passed away by the decree of Allāh. *Verily we are for Allāh and to Allāh we return.* Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur out of his kindness and parental affection, stayed at Murshidābād with Mīrzā Izid Bakhsh Bahādur, his brother's son, till the 40th day ceremony for his departed brother. After the *fātiḥa* on the 40th day he boarded the ship (at Calcutta?) with his brother's son and returned safe to Madras.

Next day after his arrival, Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur sent information to Āzīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur Amīru'l-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh III, that he might be permitted to pay a visit to the Nawwāb with his brother's son. The Nawwāb sent the reply that it would give him great pleasure to meet them. One day the Nawwāb sent Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Khān Bahādur to invite the princes to his *darbār*, and felt very glad when he met them. The Nawwāb, out of his benevolence, arranged with the Company for the payment of a monthly allowance of rupees four hundred to Mīrzā Izid Bakhsh Bahādur. At all times the Nawwāb was very kind and generous to these princes. The devout Nawwāb Bēgam šāhiba, invited the *maḥallāt* of Mīrzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahādur and of Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur very respectfully to her own palace and met them with joy and was very kind to everyone.

PRINCE MIRZA ILAHI BAKHSH BAHADUR.

During the reign of A'zam Jāh Fakhru'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, Mīrzā Izid Bakhsh Bahādur joined to the mercy of Allāh. At that time Mīrzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur, the elder brother of the deceased prince, was at Lucknow. He was a prince of exalted rank, a most unique person, distinguished for his urbanity and virtue and renowned for his polished manners. When he learnt about the demise of his brother, he reached Madras, and had the honour of meeting A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. The Nawwāb endeavoured to arrange with the Governor for the transfer of the allowance paid to the deceased prince Izid Bakhsh Bahādur in the name of prince Mīrzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur who had come from Lucknow. The allowance which was sanctioned by the Company brought relief to the prince, who was very thankful to the Nawwāb.

Some years later during the regency of Nawwāb Azīm Jāh Bahādur, prince Mīrzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur got leave for five years from the Governor of Madras, through the mediation of the Nawwāb-Regent, and went to Lucknow in order that he might pay his obeisance to his noble mother who was residing there. The prince reached Lucknow travelling by sea and land. He was very glad to meet his mother, relatives and friends. As he was a devoted friend of the Nawwāb-Regent he kept up his promise and returned to Madras in the year 12—A.H. He took up his residence at the building in Mylapore, and sent information about his arrival to the Nawwāb-Regent. The following day the Nawwāb-Regent sent Sharafu'l-Mulk Bahādur, the *bakhshī*, to invite the prince and received him in Shādī-maḥall with great honours as usual. Next day the Nawwāb-Regent returned the visit, and thus conferred dignity upon him. In a short while, the Nawwāb-Regent arranged

with the Company for the payment of the allowance, and also the balance due to the prince Mīrzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur.

Some days later, the Nawwāb-Regent arranged to furnish a stately building owned by the *sarkār*, which was contiguous to the big garden on the sea coast, and invited Mīrzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur to reside comfortably in that building. Praise be to Allāh. This prince was so cultured and imbued with delicacy of taste and polished manners that all those who knew him frequently mentioned him with praise. The brotherly affection shown by this exalted prince to me, unworthy atom, was so great that it is beyond description.

An account of the pedigree of the Wālājāhī dynasty as detailed in Tadhkirat-ul-Ansāb, Nasab-nāma-i-Anwarī, Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī and other books.

Muḥammad Munawwar, the descendant of Ḥaẓrat ʿUmar Fārūq in the twenty-third generation, is the father of two sons, Ḥājī Muḥammad Anwar and Shaykh ʿAbdu'l-Wālī who perpetuated their families by the names of *Anwariyya* and *Wāliyya*.

ʿAzīm Jāh Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent, is in the lineal succession of six descents from Muḥammad Munawwar, through his son Ḥājī Muḥammad Anwar.

Naṣību'd-Dawla Bahādur Iftikhāru'l-Mulk is in the lineal succession of seven descents from Muḥammad Munawwar, through his other son Shaykh ʿAbdu'l-Wālī.

Thus ʿAzīm Jāh Bahādur of the *Anwariyya* line is the descendant of Ḥaẓrat ʿUmar Fārūq in the twenty-ninth generation; Naṣību'd-Dawla Bahādur of the *Wāliyya* line is the descendant of Ḥaẓrat ʿUmar Fārūq in the thirtieth generation.

The genealogical tables of these lines of descent are given in the following pages.

1. FAROQ-I-A'ZAM
2. Shaykh Abdullah
3. Shaykh Nasirud-Din
4. Shaykh Ibrahim
5. Shaykh Ishāq
6. Shaykh Abul-Fatah Wā'iz-i-Kabir
7. Abdullah Wā'iz-i-Saghīr
8. Shaykh Mas'ūd
9. Muḥammad Subhān
10. Shaykh Fakhrud-Dīn Mahmūd¹
11. Sultān Shihābūd-Dīn Aḥmad²
12. Shaykh Yūsuf
13. Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmad
14. Qāzī Shaykh Shuṭayb
15. Qāzī Fakhrud-Dīn
16. Shaykh Ali
17. Shaykh Alā'ud-Dīn
18. Qāzī Shaykh Ibrāhīm
19. Shaykh 'Abdullāh³
20. Shaykh Makhdūm 'Abdul-Qādir Qannawjī
21. Shaykh Makhdūm 'Abdul Ḥayy⁴
22. Shaykh Ni'mullāh

-
1. He was well-known by the title *Sultān Sulaymān Shāh*.
 2. He had the title *Farrukh Shāh Adil*. He was the King of Kabul in 400 A.H. (1009 A.D.)
 3. He was well-known by the title *Qāzī Lāi*.
 4. He was famous by the name *Shaykhul-Mashāyikh 'Alim-t-Zamān*.

23. SHAYKH MUHAMMAD MUNAWWAR

24. HAJI MUHAMMAD ANWAR

25. Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Sirājūd-Dawla Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang (1744—49 A.D.)

26. Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādur Amīrūl-Hind Nawwāb Walājāh I (1749—95 A.D.)

Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Walājāh II (1795—1801 A.D.)

Tājul-Umarā Bahādur (d. 1801 A.D.)

27. Amīrul-Umarā Bahādur²

28. Āzimūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Walājāh III (1801—19 A.D.)

Āzam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Walājāh IV (1819—25 A.D.)

Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Walājāh V³ (1825—55 A.D.)

29. Āzim Jāh Sirājul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb-Regent. (1825—43 A.D.) and Amir-i-Arcot (1870—74 A.D.)

24. SHAYKH ABDUL WALI

25. Shaykh Muhammad Khayrullāh

26. Abdul-Hakim Khān Bahādur

27. Muhammad Khayrūd-Dīn Khān¹ Bahādur Nāzim Jang the Senior

28. Hāfiz Muhammad Nāsir Khān Iftikhārūd-Dawla Šamsām Jang Bahādur

29. Ghulām Ali-i-Muhammad Khurshīdūl-Mulk Muhammad Nāsir Khān Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur

30. Naṣībūd-Dawla Bahādur. Iftikhārul-Mulk

Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang

Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Dīlār Jang Bahādur

Muhammad Ni'mullāh Khān Sharaful-Umarā Bahādur

Sharaful-Umarā Anwārūd-Dawla Bahādur.

1. He was the husband of the younger sister of Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Walājāh I.

2. Amīrul-Umarā Bahādur, the second son of Nawwāb Walājāh I, predeceased his father.

3. Ghulām Muhammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur, son of Nawwāb Walājāh IV, succeeded his father as Walājāh V. As he was a minor Nawwāb Āzim Jāh, Bahādur his uncle, acted as Regent.

*A brief account of the ancestors of Hājī Muḥammad
Anwar and Shaykh Abdūl-Walī, sons of Shaykh
Muḥammad Munawwar*

The author of the *Tātār Khānī* writes that Shaykh Abdullāh son of Umar Fārūq-i-Aẓam, had two wives by *nikāḥ*. One was Bakht Bānū, the daughter of Yazdajird, son of Noshirwān. She had a son by name Sālim. He was one of the *faqīhs* at Madina. He was the fore-father of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm ibn Adham.

Fāṭima, the other wife of Shaykh Abdullāh, was the daughter of Imām Ḥusayn. She had a son by name Shaykh Nāṣiru'd-Dīn. He is reported to be one of the *faqīhs* of his times. If property is bequeathed by will by any one to Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, the children of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn also are entitled to a share in it, for he is in the lineage of Fāṭima, and the term son includes both daughter and son.

When Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, the two sons of Abdullāh, son of Ḥasan Muthannā, son of Imām Ḥasan, rose in rebellion against Hārūn, the Abbasid Caliph, (786-809 A.D.) Shaykh Ibrāhīm, son of Umar joined them. It is said that Imām Shāfi also took part in that war on the side of the rebels. Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm were captured and put to death.

Shaykh Ibrāhīm, son of Shaykh Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, found himself free after the war, reached Bukhārā with his family and children and settled down there. His descendants lived respectably in Bukhārā for four generations. They spent the time in teaching Law and Traditions and leading the people in the right path.

After him Shaykh Sulaymān, son of Mas'ūd, son of Abdullāh Wā'iz Aṣghar, son of Abu'l-Fataḥ Wā'iz Akbar, son of Ishāq, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, gathered a large

army, and marched to Kābul designing a *jihād*. He made the country clear of disbelief and propagated the faith of Islām. He established his banner in Kābul in 400 A.H., (1009 A.D.) and was hailed as Sulṭān Sulaymān.

His son Sulṭān Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Farrukh Shāh 'Ādil, and his grandson Fakhrū'd-Dīn Aḥmad Nasīmān Shāh Pādshāh were sulṭāns of Kābul.

These facts are gathered from *Tadhkiratū's-siyar* written by Shaykh Abul-Barakāt Baghdādī. When circumstances changed and bad times set in, Kābul was taken by the sulṭāns of Ghaznā, and the descendants of Farrukh Shāh 'Ādil were reduced to humble position. Then Chengēz Khān marched forth with his forces devastating the territories of Islām. He attacked Ghaznā and Kābul, ravaged these places, and slaughtered many princes. One of these princes who suffered martyrdom was Muḥammad Aḥmad, son of Yūsuf, son of Farrukh Shāh 'Ādil.

Shu'ayb, son of Muḥammad Aḥmad, reached Lahore with his family and children, and thence the *qaṣba* Qaṣūr. The *qāṣī* of the place learnt about the arrival of that person, and received him. He was very kind to him. He also wrote to the king of Delhi about the unhappy state of his guest. After some time the king sent a reply to the *qāṣī*, appointing Shu'ayb as the *qāṣī* of the *qaṣba* of Kahwāl, near Multan. Shu'ayb went to Kahwāl as *qāṣī* and settled down there. Then Sulaymān, his eldest son, succeeded his father as *qāṣī*.

It is related in *Ma'ārij-ul-wilāyat* and *Siyar-ul-Aqtāb* which give an account of the biography of Ḥaṣrat Shakar Ganj, that *qāṣī* Sulaymān is the father of Quṭb-i-Ālam Ḥaṣrat Faridū'd-Dīn Shakar Ganj.

It is also learnt from the *Nasab-nāma-i-shāhī* that Ḥaṣrat Quṭb-i-Ālam Naṣīrū'd-Dīn Chirāgh Dehlawī and Shaykh Aḥmad Mujaddid alf-i-thānī are the descendants of Farrukh Shāh 'Ādil.

Fakhru'd-Dīn became the *qāṣī* after his brother Qāṣī Sulaymān. The descendants of Fakhru'd-Dīn stayed at Kahwāl for four generations. Then they went to Qannawj during the days of Lodhi sultāns of Afghān nationality and settled down there. In due course, the descendants of Fakhru'd-Dīn were appointed to the post of *Ṣadru's-ṣudūr*. One of these, by name Ibrāhīm, was appointed *qāṣī* of Qannawj by the government of Humāyūn Pādshāh. Another one ʿAbdullāh was appointed *qāṣī* of the *qaṣba* of Badhāwān. He became renowned as *qāṣī-i-lār*. He stayed there for some time.

Shaykh Makhdūm ʿAbdu'l-Qādir, one of the descendants of Fakhru'd-Dīn, reached the *qaṣba* of Gopamaw at a distance of two *manzils* from Qannawj, in order that he might prosecute his studies. After he completed his studies, he took a wife in one of the noble families of that place. During the reign of Akbar Pādshāh he settled down at Gopamaw. With the help of Allāh, he, together with Shaykh Makhdūm ʿAbdu'l-Ḥayy, his son, became the disciple of his holiness Nizāmud-Dīn of Amethī, one of the well-known saints in the reign of Akbar. He lived an humble life and never approached the door of any one. After his death Makhdūm ʿAbdu'l-Ḥayy, his son, served the *Pīr-murshīd*, leading a stringently moral and severely simple life. He attained great eminence. He donned the *khil'at-i-khilāfat-i-chishtiyya*, put on the crown of *khilāfat* and became famous by the title *Shaykhul-Mashāyikh ʿĀlim-i-samānī*. Then Shaykh Ni'mullāh, his eldest son, succeeded the father and kept up the *faqīr's ṭarīqa*. After him Shaykh Muḥammad Munawwar relinquished the ways of a *shaykh* and a *faqīr*, and became a devotee placing his reliance upon Allāh.

Then Muḥammad Anwar and Shaykh ʿAbdu'l-Wālī, the two sons of Muḥammad Munawwar, made their way to the court of Awrangzēb ʿĀlamgīr Pādshāh. The Pādshāh conferred upon Muḥammad Anwar the title *Ḥājī Muqaddas* and appointed him to be in charge of *Tasbīh-khāna*. Shaykh

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF MUḤAMMAD ANWAR

Abdu'l-Wālī was honoured with the title *Āli-Rutbat*. Thus they gradually rose in official rank.

The family began to prosper from the time of Hājī Anwar's son Nawwāb Sirāju'd-Dawla Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang. He became a martyr on the 16th of Sha'bān, 1162 A.H., (July 1749 A.D.) when he was 77 years of age. His son, Amīru'l-Hind 'Umdatul-Mulk Sirāju'd-Dawla Muḥammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Zāfar Jang Nawwāb Wālājāh I, became the *ṣubadār* of the Carnatic. During his reign he had great regard for all his relatives, and supported their families at Gopamaw. Some, in accordance with the desire of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, came down to Madras from Gopamaw. Some came to Madras of their own accord. Nawwāb Wālājāh I arranged for the marriage of his sons and daughters among his own relatives and made them feel happy under his protection. The successors of Nawwāb Wālājāh I also followed this practice.

Children of Shaykh Muḥammad Munawwar.

Shaykh Muḥammad Munawwar married Dilārī Bibī ṣāhibā, daughter of Qāzī Muḥammad Sa'īd, a *sayyid* from Kirmān. Muḥammad Munawwar had two sons: one was Muḥammad Anwar, styled *Hājī Muqaddas*. He was the grandfather of Wālājāh I. The other son Abdu'l-Wālī, styled as *Āli-Rutbat*, was the grandfather of Khayru'd-Dīn Khān. Besides the two sons, Muḥammad Munawwar had a daughter who died before marriage.

Children of Muḥammad Anwar Hājī Muqaddas, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Munawwar.

Muḥammad Anwar Hājī Muqaddas married the daughter of Qāzī Begī, son of Qāzī Muḥammad Sa'īd. A son and two daughters were born. The son was later on styled *Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn* Khān Bahādur. He had a distinguished career, after the death of his father, in the governments of Nawwāb

Āṣaf Jāh and Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang. An account of his career is given in *Anwar-Nāma*.

Bibī Maryam ṣāḥiba, one of the daughters, was married to Muḥammad Āṣaf, grandson of Shaykh Ni'mullāh. Bibī Fāṭima ṣāḥiba, the other daughter, was married to Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt, grandson of Shaykh Abdu'l-Qādir.

Wives of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur.

Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur took three wives:

The first was Bibī ṣāḥiba, daughter of Shaykh Abdu'l-Wālī, and grand-daughter of Shaykh Abdu'l Qādir. She belonged to a noble family of Gopamaw and a close relative to Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur.

The second was Bibī Fakhrū'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba. Her mother was a *sayyida*. She belonged to a noble family in Ḥaydarābād.

The details about the third wife are not given to avoid a lengthy account.

Children of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur by Bibī ṣāḥiba the first wife.

Two sons and four daughters were born by Bibī ṣāḥiba:¹

The sons are Badru'l-Islām Khān Bahādur Afrāsiyāb Jang, and Nawwāb Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang.²

Of the four daughters, the first was married to Muḥsinu'd-Dīn Khān, grandson of Shaykh Madan.

The second daughter was married to Abdu'l-Wājīd Khān, son of Muḥammad Murād.

The third daughter was married to Shaykh Abdu'l-Ḥayy. Ghulām Ashraf Khān was their son.

(1) See also *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part I, p. 109.

(2) Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur appointed Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur as the *ṣubadār* of Trichinopoly. For details see *Ibid.*, pp. 127-131.

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF NAWWAB ANWARU'D-DIN KHAN

The fourth daughter was married to Muḥammad Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur the senior, son of Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Ḥakim Khān Shahid.

The details about their descendants can be learnt from *Tadhkiratūl-Ansāb* and other books.

The details about the wives of Badru'l-Islām Khān Bahādur and Nawwāb Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur and the children born to them are given in *Khulāṣatūl-Ansāb*.

Children of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Din Khān Bahādur by Fakhrūn-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, the second wife.

Two sons and two daughters were born by Fakhrūn-nisā Bēgam.

The first son was Ghulām Awliyā, known as Muḥammad 'Alī and was styled *Nawwāb Sirājū'd-Dawla Umdatūl-Mulk*. After the demise of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur his father, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur established his authority as *ṣubadār* over the Carnatic. The Emperor of Delhi recognised him as the ruler of the Carnatic and conferred upon him the title *Amīru'l-Hind Wālājāh*.

The second son was Nawwāb 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Nuṣrat Jang Bahādur.¹

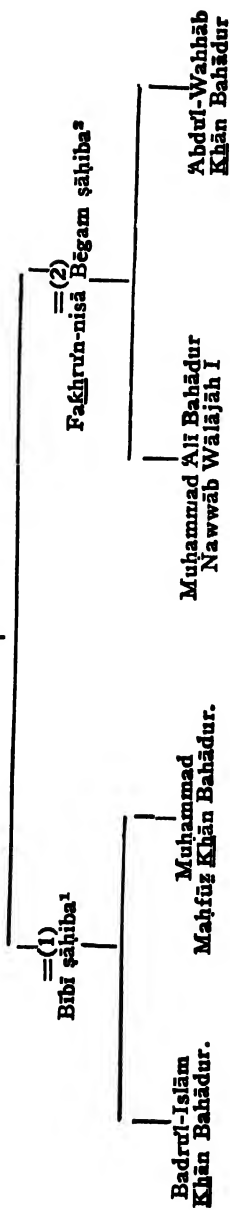
Amīra Bēgam, the first daughter, was married to 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān, son of Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wāsi'.

The second daughter was Kamu Bēgam known as Ḥaẓrat Bēgam and styled *Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam*. She was also popularly known as Chōṭī Bēgam. Khayru'd-Dīn Khān took her as wife after the death of his first Bēgam. *Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam* is the grandmother of the author of this book. The details about her children are given in this book.

(1) 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur was the *tatulluqdār* of Nellore. See *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur had also a son by name Muḥammad Najibullāh Khān Bahādur. He was entrusted with the administration of the taluk of South Arcot by his father. *Ibid.*, Part 1, p 109 and p. 127.

ANWARU'D-DIN KHAN BAHADUR



(1) Bibi Şahiba had four daughters,

(2) Fakhrun-nisâ Bëgam şahiba had two daughters. Karimun-nisâ Bëgam, one of the two daughters, was married to Khayrud-Din Khan.

Children of Muḥammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

Muḥammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I was married to Khadija, daughter of Muḥammad Aḥsanu'd-Dīn Khān ṣāhib Shahīd, and grand-daughter of Sayyida Bēgam Rīẓwī al-Mashhadī. Khadija was also the sister's daughter of Sayyid Ālī Khān ṣāhib, the senior. She was styled *Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāhiba*, and popularly known as Bēgami-Jān Maḥall-khāṣṣ. She led a happy life. When she was thirty-nine years old, she suffered from fever and dysentery. Just then festivities of the marriage of her younger daughter were in progress. The Nawwāb Bēgam departed this life on the morning of Tuesday, the 15th of Jumādiu'l-Awwal, 1181 A.H., (1767 A.D.) before the completion of the *rasm-i-jakwa* for her daughter.

Five sons and five daughters were born by Khadija Bēgam :

The first son Abdu'l-Walī, known as Ghulām Husayn was styled *Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Mu'īnu'l-Mulk Asadu'd-Dawla Ghulām Husayn Khān Bahādur Dhū'l-Faqār Jang*. He was the heir-apparent. He was married to Dilārī Bēgam ṣāhiba who was known as Khāṣṣ-maḥall.

Dilārī Bēgam was the daughter of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur by his wife Lār Bēgam ṣāhiba. She was a *sayyida*, the daughter of Mīr Ādil Khān ṣāhib.

Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, had children by Dilārī Bēgam ṣāhiba. He departed this life when he was fifty-four years old.

The second son was Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Munawwar known as Munnu Miyān. He was styled *Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Madāru'l-Mulk Rōshanu'd-Dawla Muḥammad Munawwar Khān Bahādur Bahādur Jang*. He was the Rustam of his day. He was appointed *dīwān* by Muḥammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, his father. He was married to Āẓim'un-nisā Bēgam ṣāhiba the younger sister of Dilārī Bēgam ṣāhiba, and had children. He passed away during the lifetime of his father when he (Amīru'l-Umarā) was forty years old.

The third son, Muḥammad Anwar, known as Ḥājī Miyān, was styled *Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Anwarūd-Dawla Muḥammad Anwar Khān Bahādur Husām Jang*. During the early part of of his reign Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, appointed his third son as *Mīr-kachahrī*. Muḥammad Anwar held that post for some days.

Muḥammad Anwar Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur was married to Badru'n-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur by his wife Allāh Rakkhī Bēgam and had children. Muḥammad Anwar Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur passed away when he was fifty-four years old on the 15th of *Dhu'l-ḥajj*, 1218 A.H. (1803 A.D.), during the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

The fourth son, Ghulām Ḥasan, known as Ṭippū Bādshāh, was styled *Nawwāb Husāmu'l-mulk Itimādūd-Dawla Muḥammad Abdullāh Khān Bahādur Hizbar Jang*. During the time of his father he was appointed *ḥākīm* of Nattharnagar. He was *ṣubadār* of Muḥammādpūr (Arcot) during the reign of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

Ḥabību'n-nisā Bēgam, the daughter of Ḥāmid 'Alī Khān, who belonged to one of the noble families of Gopamaw, was given in marriage to Ghulām Ḥasan Nawwāb Husāmu'l-mulk, and children were born to her. He passed away, when he was seventy-four years old, on the afternoon of the 8th of *Sha'bān*, 1244 A. H., (1828 A.D.) during the regency of Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Sirāju'l-Umarā Bahādur.

The fifth son, Abdu'l-Quddūs, known as Lāl Bādshāh, was styled *Nawwāb Naṣīru'l-Mulk Intiḡāmūd-Dawla Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur Ghazanfar Jang*. He was the *taḥlūqdār* of Madura during the reigns of his father and brother. He was married to *Khayru'n-nisā* Bēgam, younger sister of Ḥabību'n-nisā Bēgam. He passed away, when he was forty-five years old, on the afternoon of the 18th of *Sha'bān* 1219 A.H., (1804 A.D.) during the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

DAUGHTERS OF MUḤAMMAD ALI KHĀN BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WĀLĀJĀH I.

By *Khadija Bēgam*.

Mōti Bēgam was the first daughter. She was junior to 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. After she attained the age of puberty, she was betrothed to Ghulām Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn, styled as *Abdul-Ilayy Khān Bahādur*, the sister's son of Badru'l-Islām Khān Bahādur the senior. She died of small-pox before she was given in marriage.

Pōti Bēgam was the second daughter. She was junior to Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur. She attained the age of puberty. She passed away, within a week of her sister's death, of the same illness.

Būrhi Bēgam was the third daughter. She was junior to Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur. She was styled *Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam* and also known as *Ṣāhib-zādī-i-kalān*. She was given in marriage to Abdu'l-Hādī Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Ṣamsāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, the sister's son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She gave birth to children.

Būrhi Bēgam went on a pilgrimage with her son to *Bay-tullāh* and other holy places, during the reign of Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III. Her death in the holy Karbalā when she was sixty-eight years old, on the 23rd of *Dhu'l-hajj*, 1236 A.H., (1821 A.D.) was reported during the reign of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

Daryā Bēgam¹ was the fourth daughter. She was junior to Nawwāb Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur. She was styled *Nawwāb*

(1) When the French under M. Lally laid siege to Fort St. George, the English Governor Pigot sent Nawwāb Wālājāh I by sea to Negapatam. In

Malikū'n-nisā Bēgam, and also known as *Şāhib-zādī-i-miyāna*. She was given in marriage to Mawlawī Abdu'l-Wālī Khān I'tiṣāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, brother of Abdu'l-Hādī Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Şamṣāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur. She had children. She passed away, when she was sixty-four years old, on the 29th of Şafar, 1236 A.H., during the reign of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

As the fifth daughter, junior to Nawwāb Naşīru'l-Mulk Bahādur was born on the day of the subjugation of the fort of Vellore, Nawwāb Wālājāh I named her Fataḥ-Bēgam şāhiba. She was styled *Nawwāb Umdatū'n-nisā Bēgam*. She was also known as *Şāhib-zādī-i-khurd*. She was married to Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāşir Khān Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, the brother of Abdu'l-Hādī Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Şamṣāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur. She was blest with children. She passed away, when she was fifty-two years old, on the 11th of Rabī'uṭh-thānī 1227 A.H., (1812 A.D.) during the reign of Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

She is the mother of the author of this book, *Sawāniḥāt-i-Mumtāz*.

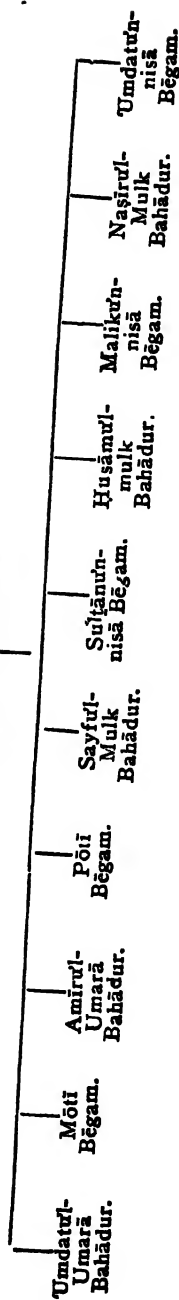
the course of the voyage a daughter was born to Nawwāb Wālājāh I. This child was named Daryā Bēgam.

For details see *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part II, pp. 208-214.

MUHAMMAD ALI BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

=

KhADIJA BEGAM



CHILDREN OF THE SONS OF MUḤAMMAD ALI KHĀN BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WĀLĀJĀH I.

I.—CHILDREN OF 'UMDATU'L-UMARĀ BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB
WĀLĀJĀH II, THE FIRST SON OF MUḤAMMAD ALI KHĀN
BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WĀLĀJĀH I.

By Dulārī Bēgam, the Khāṣṣ-Maḥall.

Dulārī Bēgam was blest with daughters. Some died in their infancy, and some died just before the age of puberty.

Children by Kulthūm Bī, the wife by nikāḥ.

Kulthūm Bī had a son, 'Abdu'l-Karīm Khān. He was styled *Khān Bahādur Mu'īnu'd-Dawla Shāhsawār Jang*. He was married to the daughter of Muḥammad Ḥayāt Qādir 'Alī Khān Bahādur, son of 'Iṣmat Bibī ṣāḥiba of Gopamaw. He had children by her.

Children by Ghasīnī Bēgam, who was styled Mubāraku'n-nisā Bēgam, the wife by nikāḥ.

Mubāraku'n-nisā Bēgam had a son, 'Alī Ḥusayn. He was styled *Tājul-Umarā Bahādur*. *Mājid* was his pen-name. He was a poet of great merit. He was married to the younger sister of Ikrāmu'n-nisā, the wife of Shārafu'l-Umarā Bahādur Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān. He had no children. He passed away on the 1st of Dhū'l-ḥajj, 1216 A.H., (1801 A.D.) two months after the demise of his father and at the beginning of the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

Children by Chitar Bēgam the wife by nikāḥ.

Chitar Bēgam had a son, Ghulām Bāqir Ḥusayn Khān. He was a young child when his father was alive. During the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, he was given in marriage to the daughter of Nawwāb Naṣīru'l-

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF AMIRU'L-UMARA BAHADUR

Mulk Bahādur by Shādī-Bēgam, the wife by *nikāh*. She died of abortion.

'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II took a wife by *muta'* marriage, the girl brought up by Mahtāb-Bēgam, known as Razīya Bēgam. She gave birth to a daughter who was married in the life-time of the Nawwāb, her father, to Tājūd-Dīn Khān, younger son of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān the senior. She died without issue.

The slave girls, who were brought up by Nawwāb Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam and Ghasīti Bēgam, with whom the Nawwāb had commerce, had no children. Some of them were maintained by the *sarkār* along with the slave girls of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, in the big *bāgh*.

MUHAMMAD ALI BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

'UMDATU'L-UMARA BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH II

=Kulthūm Bī
|
Abdul-Karīm Khān

=Ghasīti Bēgam
|
Tājul-Umarā Bahādur

=Chitar Bēgam
|
Ghulām Bāqir
Husayn Khān.

II.—CHILDREN OF AMIRU'L-UMARA BAHADUR MADARU'L-MULK, THE SECOND SON OF MUHAMMAD ALI Khān BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I.

Children by Aẓīmu'n-nisā Bēgam, the khāṣṣ-mahall.

A son, 'Abdu'l-ʿAlī Khān Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur was born by Aẓīmu'n-nisā Bēgam. He was the eminent person who, with the help of Allāh, lighted up the *Anwariyya* family by succeeding to the *Wālājāhi* throne after the demise of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, his uncle, and thus became the protector of the entire family.

The other wives and slave girls of Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur had no issue.

Children of Aẓīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III son of Amīrū'l-Umarā Bahādur.

Children by Saʿīdu'n-nisā Bēgam.

Aẓīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, was married, during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, to Saʿīdu'n-nisā Bēgam, eldest daughter of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-mulk Dilēr Jang Naṣīrū'd-Dawla II by Ḥamīdu'n-nisā Bēgam ṣāhibā. Nawwāb Wālājāh I, conferred upon the bride the title, *Nawwāb Bēgam*. She gave birth to two sons and a daughter.

The first son, Muḥammad Munawwar, was styled *Nawwāb Aẓam Jāh Fakhrū'l-Umarā Bahādur*.

The second son, Muḥammad Ālī, was styled *Aẓīm Jāh Sirājū'l-Umarā Bahādur*.

The daughter, Aẓīmū'n-nisā Bēgam known as Ṣāhib-zādi Bēgam, was married to Najmu'l-mulk Abdu'l-Ṣamad Khān Bahādur. She gave birth to a daughter, Aḥmadū'n-nisā Bēgam, known as *Ṣāhib-zādi Nūru'l-Baṣar*. She was brought up from childhood by her maternal grandmother. After the death of her father in 1251 A.H. (1835 A.D.), Nūru'l-Baṣar was given in marriage to Abdu'l-Qādir who was styled *Azīzū'l-mulk Muṭaminiū'd-Dawla Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur Silāḥ Jang*, son of her father's brother.

Children of Aẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV son of Aẓīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

Aẓam Jāh Bahādur was married in 1233 A.H., during the reign of Aẓīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, to Nawwāb 'Ināyatu'n-nisā Bēgam, known as Bahū Bēgam. She was popular with the people by the name *Maḥall-i-ʿāliya*. She

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF AMIRU'L-UMARA BAHADUR

was the eldest daughter of Ziyā'ud-Dawla Bahādur, one of the *amīrs* of Haydarābād.

A son, Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur was born to A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur by Bahū-Bēgam after he succeeded to the Wālājāhī throne as Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV had three daughters by Mukhtārū'n-nisā Bēgam, his wife by *nikāḥ*. One daughter was born in the year 1239 A.H., in the course of his journey to Natthar-nagar. The other two daughters were born in Madras.

The slave girls of the Nawwāb had no issue.

Children of Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Sirājū'l-Umarā Bahādur, brother of A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur, second son of Aẓīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, was married in the year 1233 A.H., (1817-18 A.D.) to Nawwāb Nūru'n-nisā, younger sister of Maḥall-i-ʿāliya. A few years later she died of child-birth.

During the reign of A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur was married again in 1239 A.H. (1823 A.D.) to Shafī'ū'n-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur by his first wife. She gave birth to a daughter, Amatu'l-walī Waliū'n-nisā Bēgam. A son also was born in the year 1241 A.H., (1825 A.D.) but the mother and child passed away in a period of six months.

After some years Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba (the Bēgam of A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV) arranged for another marriage for Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur in the year 12—A.H. The bride was Mun'imū'n-nisā Bēgam, styled *Dulhan Bēgam*,

daughter of Khān-i-Ālam Khān Bahādur by Şāliḥa Bēgam, senior grand-daughter of Nawwāb Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam. She gave birth to a daughter. May Allāh keep her safe for many years.

Nawwāb Āẓīm Jāh Bahādur had by Saādatu'n-nisā Bēgam six sons and two daughters. Of these, three sons and one daughter died in childhood. The other three sons are Aḥmadullāh Khān Bahādur Muntazimu'd-Dawla Nabī Yār Jang, Muḥammad Nūrullāh, who was styled *Umdatu'd-Dawla*, and Ghulām Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn who was styled *Mu'izzu'd-Dawla*.

The daughter's name was Raḥīmu'n-nisā Bēgam.

Nawwāb Āẓīm Jāh had two sons by a mistress.

The first son was Badī'ullāh Khān Bahādur Zāhiru'd-Dawla Fiṭrat Jang. He was senior to all the sons of Nawwāb Āẓīm Jāh Bahādur. Badī'ullāh Khān was married to Tāhiru'n-nisā Bēgam, the *ullātī* sister of Ḥājī Maṣṣūru'd-Dawla, son of Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur. He also took for his second wife a girl brought up by Mumtāzu'n-nisā Bēgam, the second wife of Nawwāb Āẓīm Jāh Bahādur.

The second son, was Muḥammad Ālimullāh Khān Bahādur Mufidu'd-Dawla Firūz Jang.

Nawwāb Āẓīm Jāh Bahādur had two daughters by another mistress. Saādatu'n-nisā, the elder of the two died; the other was Ḥabību'n-nisā Bēgam.

Children of Āẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III by his nikāḥ wives.

Children by Āẓīmu'n-nisā Bēgam.

Āẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur, in obedience to the command of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, his noble grandfather, took

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF AMIRU'L-UMARA BAHADUR

his third wife *ʿAzīmu'n-nisā Bēgam*, daughter of *Badru'l-Islām Khān*. She had two sons and a daughter.

The first son, *Ashraf ʿAlī* died in his youth.

The second son, *Ghulām Muḥammad Husayn*, was honoured with the title *Rashīdu'd-Dawla Muḥammad Husayn Khān Bahādur Iyālat Jang* during the reign of *Aʿzam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV*. He was married during the regency of *Nawwāb ʿAzīm Jāh Bahādur* to the daughter of *Amīru'd-Dawla Taqī Husayn Khān Bahādur* by *Ruqayya Bēgam*, younger daughter of *Iʿtizādu'd-Dawla* and grand-daughter of *Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur*.

The daughter *Fāṭima Bēgam*, was married, during the regency of *Nawwāb ʿAzīm Jāh Bahādur*, to *Ghulām Dastgīr* who was styled *Ustuwār Jang Ghulām Dastgīr Khān Bahādur*, son of the first wife of *Nāṣīru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullah Khān* and junior grandson of *Ikhtiyār Jang*. She was blest with children.

Children by Bastan Bēgam.

Bastan (Yāsīn?) Bēgam who was styled *Mubāraku'n-nisā Bēgam* was married to *ʿAzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III* in the early part of his reign. She lived a happy life. She died without any issue.

Children by Lālī Bēgam.

ʿAzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III had two sons and two daughters by his wife *Lālī Bēgam* who was styled *Dawlatu'n-nisā Bēgam*.

The first son *Ghulām Muḥammad* was styled *Munīru'd-Dawla Ghulām Muḥammad Khān Bahādur Jasarat Jang*.

The second son was *Ghulām Rasūl*. The title *Iʿtibāru'd-Dawla Ghulām Rasūl Khān Bahādur Akbar Jang* was

conferred upon him by Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur, the Regent.

The eldest daughter Aḥmadī Bēgam was married to Aṣhrafu'n-nujabā 'Abdu'l-Āli. He was a widower. His first wife was the daughter of Parsan Bībī. Aḥmadī Bēgam was blest with children. Some years later her husband died of an accident by horse-riding. The second daughter Kulthūm Bēgam was married to Ghulām Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Rastagār Jang, son of 'Abdu'l-Bāsiṭ Khān. She had children.

Children by Bādshāh Bēgam.

'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III invited respectfully Bādshāh Bēgam to come from her home at Kalwā to Madras and married her. She belonged to a noble family of the Nāiṭ community.

She gave birth to a son, Ghulām 'Abdu'l-Qādir. The ceremony of *bismillāh-khwānī* was celebrated for him during the reign of A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. He was given the title *Shamsu'd-Dawla Ghulām Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur Itiẓād Jang* during the regency of Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur.

Children by Zīnat-maḥall.

Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III had a daughter by Zīnat-maḥall, his wife by *nikāh*. She was married to the son of Khān-i-Jahān Khān in the early part of her father's rule. She was blest with children.

MUHAMMAD ALI BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

AMIRU'L-UMARA BAHADUR
=AẒIMU'N-NISA BĒGAM

Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III
=Saīdu'n-nisā Bēgam

A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV
='Ināyatun-nisā Bēgam

Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur
Nawwāb-Regent

Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur
Nawwāb Wālājāh V

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF SAYFU'L-MULK BAHADUR

III.—CHILDREN OF NAWWAB SAYFU'L-MULK ANWARU'D-DAWLA BAHADUR, THE THIRD SON OF MUHAMMAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I.

Children by Badru'n-nisā Bēgam.

Nawwab Sayfu'l-mulk Bahādūr had three sons and two daughters by his wife Badru'n-nisā Bēgam.

Sons.

The first son, Ghulām 'Alī, was styled *Sayfu'd-Dawla Ghulām Alī Khān Bahādūr Sayf Jang*. He was married to Sakina Bēgam, styled *Iklilū'n-nisā Bēgam*, daughter of Anwar 'Alī Khān, during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She died of small-pox after some years without issue.

Ghulām 'Alī Sayfu'd-Dawla Bahādūr was again married, during the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh III, to Mumtāz Bēgam, senior sister of Tāidu'd-Dīn Akbar, son of Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādūr. She had no issue.

Ghulām 'Alī Sayfu'd-Dawla had two sons and two daughters by Jamī'at Bī, his wife by *nikāh*.

The first son, Qiyāmu'd-Dawla Bahādūr was married to Tāhiru'n-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādūr, and had children.

The second son, Qamaru'd-Dawla, was married to Munīru'n-nisā Bēgam, younger sister of Tāhiru'n-nisā Bēgam. She had children.

The first daughter died of child-birth.

The second daughter married and had children.

Nawras Bēgam the wife by *nikāh*, Mehru'n-nisā and Sirāju'n-nisā, the *harams* of Ghulām 'Alī Sayfu'd-Dawla Bahādūr had no issue.

Ghulām Waliullāh, the second son of Nawwāb Sayfu'l-mulk Bahādūr, was styled *Husāmu'd-Dawla Ghulām Riṣā Khān Bahādūr Husām Jang*. He was married to Barakatu'n-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Nawwāb Husāmu'l-Mulk Bahādūr. She had a son and two daughters.

The son, who was styled Ghulām Muḥammad Khān Bahādur, was married to the second daughter of I'tizādu'd-Dawla Bahādur, by his first wife. She had children. He went with his family on a pilgrimage to Karbalā during the regency of Nawwāb 'Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur. When Ra'isul-Umarā Bahādur died at Karbalā, Ghulām Muḥammad Khān Bahādur assumed possession of the property of the deceased Bahādur, in accordance with the decision of the *mujtahid* in that place. His wife and children died of plague in Karbalā.

The first daughter of Ghulām Walīullāh was Sa'īdu'n-nisā Bēgam known as Nawāsī Bēgam the senior. She was married to the son of I'tizādu'd-Dawla Bahādur by his first wife. She was blest with children.

The second daughter Khadīja Bēgam, known as Nawāsī Bēgam the junior, was married to the second son of I'tizādu'd-Dawla Bahādur. She had children.

[Zīnatu'n-nisā, the *allātī* sister of Ghulām Muḥammad Khān Bahādur, accompanied her brother to the holy Karbalā where she was married to Sayyid Sajjād Ḥusayn, who had gone there with the Khān. She died of plague at Karbalā. Her son Ghulām Ḥusayn is there.]

Ghulam Nabī, the third son of Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur died in childhood.

Daughters of Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur.

Amatu'l-Khadīja Bēgam was the first daughter of Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur. She was styled *Afsaru'n-nisā Bēgam*. She was married to I'tizādu'd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣir Khān Bahādur and was blest with children. She died of small-pox.

Amatul-Zahrā Bēgam was the second daughter of Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur. She was styled *Khurshīd Kulāh Bēgam*.

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF SAYFU'L-MULK BAHĀDUR

She was married to Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur Ghulām Asadullāh Khān and had children. She passed away in the last days of Āzimu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

Children of Nawwāb Sayfu'l-mulk Bahādur born to his wives by nikāh, and ḥaram.

A daughter, Akramu'n-nisā Bēgam was brought up by Khurshid Kulāh Bēgam. She was married to Ghulām Rasūl Khān, son of Muḥammad Jawād Khān, and had children. She became a widow.

A son, Ghulām Muḥammad, who was brought up by Afsaru'n-nisā Bēgam, died in his youth.

Another son, Ghulām Āskarī born to Faẓilat Bī, the *nikāh* wife, died in his youth.

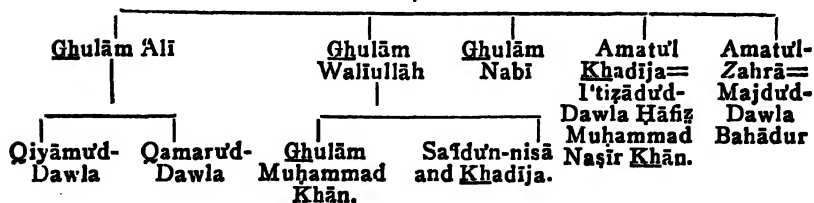
The third son styled Ghulām Mūsā Khān was born to Nawwāb Sayfu'l-mulk Bahādur by his *nikāh* wife Jahān Bēgam. He was married to Jahāndār Bēgam, daughter of the *nikāh* wife of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, the father of the author of this book. She was blest with children.

The fourth son, Muḥammad Taqī, was born to Nawwāb Sayfu'l-mulk Bahādur by his *nikāh* wife Tayyibu'n-nisā. He was married to Sājida Bēgam, daughter of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur. She died without issue.

Ṣāliḥa Bēgam, and Bī Khānam the wives by *nikāh*, and Gul Shabbo, and two or three *ḥarams* had no issue.

MUḤAMMAD ALI Khān BAHĀDUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

NAWWAB SAYFU'L-MULK BAHĀDUR
=BADRU'N-NISĀ BEGAM



IV.—CHILDREN OF NAWWAB HUSAMU'L-MULK BAHADUR
FOURTH SON OF MUHAMMAD ALI Khān BAHADUR NAW-
WAB WALAJAH I.

Nawwāb H̱usāmu'l-mulk Bahādur had a daughter, Barakatu'n-nisā Bēgam, by H̱abību'n-nisā Bēgam, his first wife. She was married to H̱usāmu'd-Dawla Bahādur during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and had children.

Nawwāb H̱usāmu'l-mulk Bahādur had two daughters and one son by his other wives.

Farḥatu'n-nisā Bēgam, the eldest daughter was brought up by 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam from her childhood, for she was lonely. During the reign of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, Farḥatu'n-nisā was married to Quṭbu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, grandson of Munīru'd-Dīn Khān. During the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, she returned to the house of her parents. She had children and they also were married.

Ashrafu'n-nisā Bēgam, younger daughter, was married to Ghulām H̱usayn, one of the nobles of Gopamaw. She had no children. She became a widow after some years.

Ghulām Muḥammad Muṭahhar 'Alī Khān, son of Nawwāb H̱usāmu'l-mulk Bahādur, was a learned man, pious and religious. He was married to Qamaru'n-nisā Bēgam who belonged to a noble family of Nāiṭ community. She was blest with children.

When Nawwāb H̱usāmu'l-mulk Bahādur, his father, passed away, Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, the Regent, conferred upon Ghulām Muṭahhar 'Alī Khān Bahādur, the title *H̱usāmū'l-Mulk* enjoyed by his father and also recognised him as the successor to his father's estate.

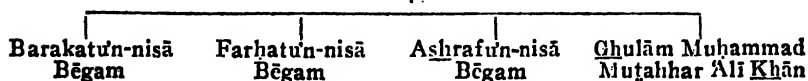
A few years after the death of his mother, Ghulām Muṭahhar 'Alī Khān Bahādur was actuated by a feeling of dutifulness to dispatch her coffin to the holy Karbalā, and arranged for its burial in the grave yard of the holy *gunbad* of Imām H̱usayn, on him be peace. All praise be to Allāh!

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF NAŞIRU'L-MULK BAHADUR

What a good fortune! The deceased reached her destination through the help of her son.

MUHAMMAD ALI BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I

NAWWAB HUSAMU'L-MULK BAHADUR



V.—CHILDREN OF NAWWAB NAŞIRUL-MULK BAHADUR THE FIFTH SON OF MUHAMMAD ALI KHAN BAHADUR NAWWAB WALAJAH I.

Nawwāb Naşīru'l-mulk Bahādur had no children by Khayru'n-nisā Bēgam, his first wife.

He had two daughters and a son by his other wives. The eldest daughter was born to Husnī Bēgam the *ḥaram*. This child was brought up by Badrū'n-nisā Bēgam, mother of Sayfu'd-Dawla and was given in marriage to Nāşir 'Alī, grandson of 'İşmat Bī. After some time she died of child-birth during the lifetime of her father.

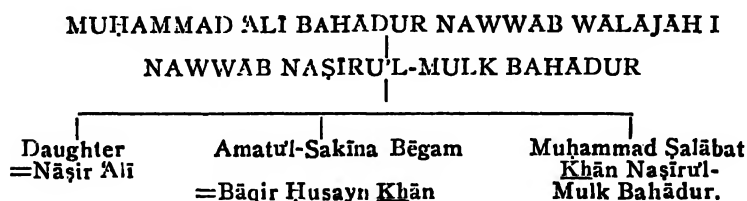
The second daughter, Amatu'l-Sakīna Bēgam, was born to Shādī Bēgam, eldest daughter of Mīr Hāshim 'Alī of Machhli-bandar (Masulipatam).

During the reign of Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, Amatu'l-Sakīna was given in marriage to Bāqir Husayn Khān Bahādur son of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II by Chitar Bēgam. She died of abortion.

The son, Muhammad Şalābat Khān, was brought up kindly by Nawwāb Husāmu'l-Mulk Bahādur after the death of his father Nawwāb Naşīru'l-Mulk Bahādur in the reign of 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, and was married to Jahāniya Bēgam, younger sister of Jahāndār Bēgam, daughter of Iftikḥāru'd-Dawla Bahādur. She was blest with children.

Aẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV conferred upon him the title *Naşīru'l-Mulk Bahādur Muhammad Şalābat Khān*.

He went with his family on a pilgrimage to the holy *Baytullāh* during the regency of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, and returned home. He has obtained leave for three years with a view to go again on a pilgrimage to the holy places. May he have the good luck! He is a very wise and capable person. He is religious and versed in all branches of learning.



CHILDREN OF THE DAUGHTERS OF
MUHAMMAD 'ALI KHAN BAHADUR NAWWAB
WALAJAH I.

*Children of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam the first
daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I.*

Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam had two daughters and a son.

The first daughter Raḏīya Bēgam passed away before marriage in the early part of the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

The second daughter Aḥmadī Bēgam, known as Shāh Bēgam, was given in marriage, during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I to A'izzu'd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang, son of Hāmid 'Alī Khān, by his wife from Gopamaw. Shāh Bēgam had three sons and three daughters.

The eldest son, Haydar Husayn Khān Bahādur Imtiyāzu'd-Dawla, was given in marriage to the daughter of Sharafu'l-Umarā Muhammad Ni'mullāh Khān Bahādur, and had children. After her death Haydar Husayn Khān was married to 'Āliya Bēgam, daughter of Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur by his second wife.

The second son Aḥmad Husayn Khān Bahādur Muḥiyyu'd-Dawla was first married to the daughter of Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur by his first wife. After her death Aḥmad Husayn Khān married the daughter of Abdu'l-Hayy Khān Natthū Miyān and had children. The third son, Ghulām Muṣṭafā Khān Bahādur Ikrāmu'd-Dawla was married to the daughter of Burhānī Bēgam and had children.

The first daughter, Ṣāliḥa Bēgam, was married to Khān 'Ālam Khān Bahādur and had children.

The second daughter, Raḥmatu'n-nisā Begam, became second wife of I'tiẓādu'd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur and had children.

The third daughter died of an accident by fire in Rajab 12—A. H.

Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān, son of Nawwāb Sulṭānu'n-nisā Bēgam, was styled *Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur*. He was junior to Aḥmadī Bēgam. He was married¹ during the reign of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II to the daughter of Ruknu'd-Dawla Ghulām Ashraf Khān Bahādur, an *Aṣafiyya amīr*. As she had no issue, Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur took a second wife during the reign of 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III. The bride was Murtaẓā Bēgam, great-grand-daughter of Mīr Mahdī ṣāhib, the *khush-nawīs*. The marriage was celebrated with all the ceremonials prevalent in the Deccan. She was blest with children.

During the reign of 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur went with his family and mother on a pilgrimage to the holy *Baytullāh* and the shrines in Karbalā, and settled down in Karbalā.

Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur had a daughter and a son.

The daughter was married to Ḥusaynu'd-Dīn Khān Shahriyāru'l-Mulk Bahādur.

The son, Ghulām Sajjād Ḥusayn Khān, was honoured with the title *A'ẓamu'l-Umarā Sajjād Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur* by Fataḥ 'Alī Shāh the Pādshāh of 'Ajam (Persia).

After the death of his mother, Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur took another wife from a noble family from Hind and a son was born. His name was Mīrzā Ghulām Ḥusayn.

(1) For an account of the marriage festivities see *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part III, pp. 60—65.

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF MALIKU'N-NISA BEGAM

He came away to Madras and the reason for leaving his father in *Karbalā* is not known. After the death of Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur, 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent, conferred upon Mīrzā Ghulām Husayn the title *Mīrzā Ghulām Husayn Khān Bahādur Sardār Jang*. Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādur had also children by *haram*.

Children of Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam the second daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

Nawwāb Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam's son, Ghulām Khayrullāh known as Ghulām Asadullāh, was styled *Majdu'd-Dawla Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Bahādur Muẓaffar Jang*. He was given in marriage, during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, to the younger sister of Sayfud-Dawla Bahādur. She gave birth to two sons and four daughters.

The eldest son Ghulām Yadullāh died in childhood.

The second son, Ghulām 'Abbas 'Alī, was honoured with the title *Sayfu'l-Mulk Anwaru'd-Dawla* by 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III. He is not yet formally married but he has children by his *nikah* wives and *haram*.

The first daughter Maqbūlu'n-nisā Bēgam, known as Bēgam Bahū, was given in marriage to Ghulām Muḥammad 'Alī Naṣību'd-Dawla known as Muḥammadī Miyān.

The second daughter, Luṭfu'n-nisā Bēgam, became the second wife of Ghulām Kāẓim I'tizādu'd-Dawla Bahādur and has children.

The third daughter 'Abbāsī Bēgam was married to Rīzā Husayn, son of Ghulām Kāẓim by his first wife, and has children.

The fourth daughter Ḥaydarī Bēgam was married to the eldest son of Ghulām 'Abdu'l-Salām 'Abidīn Khān the senior brother of Ghulām Kāẓim.

The children of Ghulām Khayrullāh Bahādur by his *nikāh* wives and *haram* will be given later.

Children of Nawwāb Umdatū'n-nisā Bēgam the third daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

Nawwāb Umdatū'n-nisā Bēgam *ṣāhibā*, the noble mother of the humble author of this book, had five sons and seven daughters. Two sons and all the daughters died; some in their childhood and some before the age of puberty.

The three sons who survived are:

The first son Ghulām Pīr known as Muḥammad Naṣīr was honoured with the title *I'tiẓādū'd-Dawla Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur Naṣīr Jang* by Umdatū'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. Ghulām Pīr was married to the elder sister of Sayfu'd-Dawla Bahādur during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, and had four sons and three daughters.

The first son was 'Abdu'l-Salām, known as Ghulām 'Ābidīn Khān Bahādur. He married, had children, and died.

The second son, Ghulām Kāẓim Khān, was styled *I'tiẓādū'd-Dawla*. He was married to the younger daughter of Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla and had children. After her death Ghulām Kāẓim Khān married the daughter of Majdu'd-Dawla and had children.

The third son, Ghulām Bāqir died in childhood.

The fourth son Muḥammad Mujtabā was married to the daughter of Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān, brought up by 'Ināyatū'n-nisā Bēgam, wife of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur. She was blest with children.

The first daughter died before marriage.

The second daughter Amatū'l-Batūla Bēgam was styled *Umdatū'n-nisā Bēgam*. She was given in marriage to Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, son of Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla,

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF 'UMDATU'N-NISA BĒGAM

after the death of her father in the reign of A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, and had children. She went with her husband on a pilgrimage to the holy Karbalā. After some time she and her daughter died there.

The third daughter Amatu'l-Ruqayya Bēgam was married during the lifetime of her own grand-father, to Taqī Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur, son of Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur. She gave birth to children.

The second son of 'Umdatun-nisā Bēgam was Ghulām Āl-i-Muḥammad Ṣāhibu'd-Dawla, known as Ghulām Zāmin Muḥammad Karīm. He was styled *Khurshīdu'l-Mulk*, and after the death of his noble father was styled *Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamṣām Jang*. He is an humble servant, the author of this book, *Sawāniḥāt-I-Mumtāz*.

He was married, during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, to Kaniz-i-Zahrā Muḥammadatu'n-nisā Bēgam, younger sister of Majdu'd-Dawla and had children. After the demise of the first wife, Ṣāhibu'd-Dawla married a *sayyida* during the regency of Nawwāb Āẓīm Jāh Bahādur.

The third son of 'Umdatun-nisā Bēgam, Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh, was styled *Nāṣirud-Dawla I'tiṣām Jang*. He was married,¹ during the reign of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, to the senior daughter of Ghulām Jilānī Khān Bahādur Ikhtiyār Jang. She had children. After her death, Nāṣiru'd-Dawla Bahādur took a second wife during the regency of Nawwāb Āẓīm Jāh Bahādur. The bride was the younger daughter of Ruknu'd-Dīn Khān Zāfaru'd-Dawla. She was blest with children.

(1) For an account of the marriage of Nāṣiru'd-Dawla see *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part III, pp. 121-128.

OTHER WIVES AND CHILDREN OF MUḤAMMAD ALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WĀLĀJĀH I.

Khātūna Bēgam, Bādshāh Bēgam, and Khadija Bēgam are the *nikāh* wives of Nawwāb Wālājāh I chosen from the Nāit community. Nawwāb Wālājāh I had much affection towards them.

Khātūna Bēgam and Bādshāh Bēgam were without children.

Khadija Bēgam, the senior sister of Akbar Āli Khān Haydari, gave birth to three daughters.

The first daughter was given in marriage to Najaf 'Alī Khān, son of 'Abdu'l-Ghanī Khān. She had children.

The second daughter Hāfiẓa Bēgam was married to Ṣādiq Āli Khān. She gave birth to a daughter, Fāṭima Bēgam, who was given in marriage to A'izzu'd-Dīn Khān, son of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān.

The third daughter, Rābi'a Bēgam, was given in marriage to Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, mentioned above. She had children.

Children of Muḥammad Āli Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I by mistresses.

A son, 'Abdu'l-Ma'būd Khān Jamshīd Jang was senior to all the children of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. He married and had children.

The second son, Muḥammad Ishāq Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang, was married to Parsan Bī. He died, and had no children.

The third son, 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, died in childhood.

The fourth son, Muḥammad Jawād Khān Bahādur, married and had children.

The fifth son, Ḥāfiẓ Ḥasan 'Alī Khān, was styled *Rustam Jang Bahādur*. He married and had many children.

The sixth son, 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār Khān Bahādur Thābit Jang, who was brought up by Khātūna Bēgam, married the younger sister of Khadīja Bēgam, and had a daughter and a son by her.

The daughter of 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār Khān was married during the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III to 'Abdu'l-Bāsiṭ Khān and had children. She passed away at Nāgūr in 1238 A.H. (1822 A.D.) during the reign of A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. Her husband also died after some time.

The son, Ghulām Murtaẓā who was brought up by Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba was honoured with the title *Mumtāzu'l-Mulk Rafī'ud-Dawla* Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān Bahādur Thābit Jang by A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. He was married to the daughter of Najaf 'Alī Khān Bahādur and had children.

The seventh son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Naṣrullāh Khān Bahādur Qawī Jang, the eighth son Ghulām Muḥammad Khān Qasūr Jang, and the ninth son Muḥammad Ismā'īl Khān Shēr Jang Bahādur were brought up by Bādshāh Bēgam. They all married in due course. Qasūr Jang died without issue. Shēr Jang died leaving children. Qawī Jang has children.

Nawwāb Wālājāh I had a daughter, Maryamu'n-nisā Bēgam by Ḥamīda Bī, his *nikāḥ* wife. Maryamu'n-nisā Bēgam was brought up by Bādshāh Bēgam, and during the lifetime of Nawwāb Wālājāh I she was given in marriage to Maḥfūẓ Khān as his first wife. She died after some years without issue.

Nawwāb Wālājāh I had two sons and two daughters by Lāl-maḥall.

The son, Ghulām Ḥasan Khān Dilāwar Jang Bahādur married and has children. He is the tenth son of the Nawwāb.

Abū Turāb Khān Shujāʿat Jang Bahādur, the eleventh son, was married and has children.

Raḥīmu'n-nisā Bēgam, born to Lāl Maḥall is the fifth daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She was given in marriage to Ghulām Nabī Khān Afrāsiyāb Jang, son of Badru'l-Islām Khān.

Raḥīmu'n-nisā Bēgam gave birth to a daughter, Aḥmad-u'n-nisā, who was married to Khayru'd-Dīn Ḥusayn Khān.

Faḥīlatu'n-nisā Bēgam, born to Lāl Maḥall, is the sixth daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She was married to Muḥammad Bāqir, eldest grandson of 'Iṣmat Bī. Faḥīlatu'n-nisā became a widow without issue.

Nawwāb Wālājāh I had a daughter Luṭfu'n-nisā Bēgam by Amīna Bī, the Turkan maḥall. Luṭfu'n-nisā, who is the seventh daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I was given in marriage to Maḥfūẓ Khān as his second wife. She gave birth to children. Now she is a widow.

Nawwāb Wālājāh I had also two other Turkan maḥall. He was very kind and showed special consideration to them. Of these one was Nawwāb Ra'īsu'n-nisā Bēgam. She gave birth to a son and three daughters.

The son ranks as the twelfth son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. His name is Ḥusayn Nawāz Khān Aẓīmu'l-Umarā I'timādu'l-Mulk Bahādur. He was married in the beginning of the reign of Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III to the daughter of 'Ibād 'Alī Khān who belonged to a noble family of the Nāiṭ community. She had no issue. Aẓīmu'l-Umarā had no children by his two other *nikāḥ* wives. He passed away during the early part of the reign of Aẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

The three daughters of Nawwāb Wālājāh I by Ra'isu'n-nisā Bēgam are Sharafu'n-nisā Bēgam, Azizu'n-nisā Bēgam and Sirāju'n-nisā Bēgam.

Sharafu'n-nisā Bēgam ranks as the eighth daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. Nawwāb Wālājāh I wanted to give her in marriage to 'Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur his nephew. But when he got information through his own daughters about the unwillingness of his sister, (the mother of 'Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur) he did not press his idea, and arranged for the marriage of Sharafu'n-nisā Bēgam with 'Abdu'l-Ḥafīẓ Khān Bahādur Saṭwat Jang, son of Ḥāmid Alī Khān, one of the nobles of Gopamaw.

Azizu'n-nisā Bēgam, ranks as the ninth daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She was married to Badru'd-Dīn Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur, son of 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Khān.

Sirāju'n-nisā Bēgam ranks as the tenth daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She was married to Ghawth Muḥammad Khān, younger son of Ṣādiq Alī Khān. Of these daughters some had issue, some had not.

Nawwāb Zēbu'n-nisā Bēgam, the other Turkan *maḥall* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, had two sons and four daughters. The sons, Sarfarāz Khān Bahādur Ashrafu'l-Mulk and 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Khān I'tizādu'l-Mulk rank as the thirteenth and fourteenth sons of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. They were married during the reign of Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and had children.

'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Khān I'tizādu'l-mulk, the fourteenth son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I had also children by *nikah* wives and *harams*.

The four daughters of Nawwāb Wālājāh I by Zēbu'n-nisā Bēgam are Fakhru'n-nisā Bēgam, Zīnatu'n-nisā Bēgam, Dawlatu'n-nisā Bēgam and Afẓalu'n-nisā Bēgam.

Fakhru'n-nisā Bēgam known as Qādir Bī, ranks as the eleventh daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She was married to

Fayṣ Muḥammad Khān Bahādur, younger son of Iḥsānullāh Khān.

Zīnatu'n-nisā Bēgam, who ranks as the twelfth daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, was married to Jalālu'd-Dīn Khān, eldest son of Ṣādiq Ālī Khān.

Dawlat 'n-nisā Bēgam, the thirteenth daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, was married to Faḍl Ḥusayn Khān, younger brother of Najaf Ālī Khān.

Afṣalu'n-nisā Bēgam, the fourteenth daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, was brought up by Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam and was given in marriage to Abdu'l-Laṭīf Khān Bahādur, younger son of Ḥāmid Ālī Khān.

Barī Bī ṣāḥiba, the Turkan *maḥall* was the constant companion of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She went on a pilgrimage to Makka. After her return she was styled Ḥajānī Bī ṣāḥiba. She had no children.

During the last days of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, four Turkans Nafisa Bī, Zubayda Bī, Ā'isha Bī and Kulthūm Bī came from Arabia through Parsan Bībī and lived in the palace of the Nawwāb. After his death they also passed away.

The details about some of the children of Nawwāb Wālājāh I are not given for want of space in this little book.

Nawwāb Wālājāh I had also in his *ḥaram* women who came from Abyssinia and other places. Of these some died. Others are spending their time in comfort under the benign protection of Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent.

CHILDREN OF NAWWĀB SHUKŌHU'L-MULK
 NAŞĪRU'D-DAWLA ĀBDU'L-WAHHĀB KHĀN
 BAHĀDUR NUŞRAT JANG, YOUNGER
 BROTHER OF MUHAMMAD ALI KHĀN
 BAHĀDUR NAWWĀB WĀLĀJĀH I.

Children by Lārli Bēgam.

Lārli Bēgam was a *sayyida* of a noble family. She was the daughter of Mīr Ādil Khān ṣāhib. She had two sons and two daughters.

The first son, Ābdul-Ṣamad Khān Dilēr Jang Naşīru'd-Dawla Bahādur II was married to Ḥamīdu'n-nisā Bēgam daughter of Ābdul-Ḥayy Khān Bahādur and had children.

The second son, Khān-i-Jahān Khān Bahādur Tabawwur Jang was married to Mişrī Bēgam and had no issue.

The first daughter Dulārī Bēgam known as Khāṣṣ-maḥall, was married to Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

The second daughter, Madārī Bēgam, was styled *Aẓīmū'n-nisā Bēgam*. She was married to Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur, brother of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur.

Children by Allāh Rakhī Bēgam.

Allāh Rakhī Bēgam had three sons and four daughters.

The first son, Iqtidār Khān Bahādur, was married and he had children. He became a martyr in his fight against the *pālayagār* of Chittoor during the days of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II.

The second son, Sarfarāz Ālī Khān Bahādur, who was married and had children, died during the reign of Aẓīmud-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

The third son, Sarfarāz Ḥasan Khān Bahādur Muḥtasham Jang, known as Nadīmullāh ṣāhib, was married and he had children. He had the good fortune to go on a pilgrimage during the regency of Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur the Nawwāb-Regent, in the company of his own senior grandson, and return to Madras.

Sarfarāz Ḥasan Khān had a son, Muḥammad Aẓizullāh Khān Ashraf Jang Bahādur. He was wise and intelligent. He was given in marriage to the daughter of Sarfarāz Aḷī Khān Bahādur, his own uncle. He was blest with children.

Badru'n-nisā Bēgam, the first daughter, was married to Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur. She died during the reign of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II out of sorrow at the separation of Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla, her son¹.

Karāmatu'n-nisā Bēgam, the second daughter, was married to Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān and had children.

Aḥmadī Bēgam, the third daughter, was married to Jabbār Miyān.

Raḥmatu'n-nisā Bēgam, the fourth daughter, was married to Najmu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn Khān known as Khādū Miyān and had children.

Sons of Nawwāb Shukōḥu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur I by mistresses.

A son, 'Abdu'l-Razzāq Khān Bahādur Zāhir Jang was married. He had children.

Karīmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Ṣawlat Jang, another son, was married. He had children.

The other *ḥarams* of Nawwāb Shukōḥu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur I had no issue. Details about them are not given to avoid a lengthy account.

(1) For details see *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part III, pp. 79-82.

*Children of Abdūl-Ṣamad Khān Dilēr Jang Bahādur
Naṣīrū'd-Dawla II, son of Nawwāb Shukōhūl-Mulk
Naṣīrū'd-Dawla Bahādur I.*

Children by Ḥamīdu'n-nisā Bēgam

Ḥamīdu'n-nisā Bēgam known as Ḥaẓrat Wālidā Bēgam ṣāhibā had three sons and four daughters.

Sons

The eldest son, Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān, who was styled Sharafūl-Umarā Shukōhūl-Mulk Naṣīrū'd-Dawla Fataḥ-yāb Jang Bahādur was brave, high-minded, and a friend of the poor. Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III conferred upon him the *manṣab* and the title of his father and recognised his claims to the estate of his father.

Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān was married to Ikrāmu'n-nisā, daughter of Nāṣīru'l-Dīn Muḥammad Khān and had by her four daughters and a son.

The first daughter was married to Imtiyāzu'd-Dawla, grandson of Nawwāb Sultānu'n-nisā Bēgam. She had children.

The second daughter was given in marriage to Ghulām Jilānī Khān. She had children.

The third daughter was married to Ghulām Jilānī Khān Suhrāb Jang, son of Ḥaydar Jang the senior.

Ḥaydar Jang the senior was the husband of Sukālī Bēgam, sister of Sharafūl-Umarā Bahādur. Sukālī Begam became a widow. Later on she died at Nāgūr.

The fourth daughter was married to Muḥammad Ālī, son of Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān.

Ghulām Rasūl Khān Bahādur, son of Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān by Ikrāmu'n-nisā was styled *Anwārū'd*

Dawla. After the death of his father, Āzīm Jāh Bahādur the Nawwāb-Regent, conferred upon him the title *Sharafu'l-Umarā Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Fataḥ-yāb Jang Bahādur*. He was married to the daughter of Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur, and was blest with children. After some years he became a widower.

The details about other wives and children of Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān are not given to avoid a lengthy account.

Shukōhu'l-Mulk Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Amīru'l-Mulk I'timād-u'd-Dawla Bahādur, second son of Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur II, was married first to the daughter of Najmu'd-Dīn Ḥusayn Khān, eldest son of Iḥsānullāh Khān. Four daughters were born.

The first daughter was given in marriage to 'Azīzu'd-Dawla Bahādur, son of Jān i-'Ālam Khān. The second daughter was married to Muḥ'yyu'd-Dawla, second son of Mustaqīm Jang Bahā'ur. The third daughter who was given in marriage to Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Sirāju'l-Umarā Bahādur (the Nawwāb-Regent) was blest with children. The fourth daughter was married to Ghulām Rasūl Khān Bahādur *Sharafu'l-Umarā*, and she had children.

Shukōhu'l-Mulk Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur took another wife with the permission of his noble mother, and his respectable sister, from a noble family of the Nāiṭ community. She died of child-birth. The child also passed away.

Shukōhu'l-Mulk Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur had two sons and two daughters by other women.

The eldest son, Maṣṣūru'd-Dawla Bahādur was a *ḥāfiẓ-i-Qurān*. The second son, was the *ullāhi* brother of Maṣṣūru'd-Dawla Bahādur. During the reign of Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent, both the brothers had the good fortune to go on a pilgrimage

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF NAŞIRU'D-AWLA BAHADUR II

to the holy Baytullāh and Madīna, the illuminated. After they returned to Madras the eldest son, Man-şūru'd-Dawla Bahādur was appointed in the *kār-khāna* of his father. He was married to the daughter of Qudrat Karīm Khān.

The first daughter of Shukōhu'l-Mulk Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur was married to Zāhīru'd-Dawla, eldest son of Aẓīm Jāh Bahadur, the Nawwāb-Regent. The second daughter is not yet married.

Abdu'l-Hayy Khān, third son of Naşīru'd-Dawla Bahādur II by Ḥamīdu'n-nisā Bēgam, died after attaining majority.

Daughters of Naşīru'd-Dawla Bahādur II by Ḥamīdu'n-nisā Bēgam

The first daughter, Sa'īdu'n-nisā Bēgam šāḥiba, was given in marriage to Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and was styled *Nawwāb Bēgam šāḥiba*.

The second daughter, Burhānī Bēgam šāḥiba was married to Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur Sikandar Jang, known as Shāh Ashrafullāh. She was blest with children.

The third daughter Munawwaru'n-nisā Bēgam, known as Munnū Bēgam was married to Jān-i-Ālam Khān, eldest son of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Khān. She had a son 'Azīzu'd-Dawla.

The fourth daughter, Sukālī Bēgam, was married to Wārith 'Alī Khān Bahādur Ḥaydar Jang and had three sons and one daughter.

The eldest son, Ghulām Jilānī Khān Suhrāb Jang, was given in marriage but he died. The second son, Muḥammad Sa'īdu'd-Dīn, was later on styled *Ḥaydar Jang Bahādur*, and the third son Muḥammad 'Alāu'd-Dīn was later on styled *'Ibrat Jang Bahādur*. The daughter was married to Tāīdu'd-Dīn Khān Akbar, son of Amīru'd-Dawla Bahādur. She was blest with children.

Details about other children are not given.

Details about other children of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur;

details about the children of Shaykhu'l-Mashāyikh Makh-dūm Shāh Naṣīru'd-Dīn Bilgirāmī;

the descendants of Riyāzullāh Khān as far as Zakiyyu'd-Dīn Khān, father of Mu'azzamu'l-Ḥaq Zakiyyu'd-Dīn Khān II, who was appointed Qāzī at Khammam by the Company

can be learnt from Khulāṣatūl-Ansāb, written by Qudrat Aḥmad, son of Ḥāfiẓ 'Ināyat Aḥmad of Gopamaw.

Children of Shaykh Abdu'l-Wālī 'Ālī Rutbat brother of Shaykh Muḥammad Anwar Ḥājī Muqaddas;

children of Khayru'd-Dīn Khān I, Khayru'd-Dīn Khān II and Karimu'n-nisā Bēgam, known as Choṭī Bēgam and styled Ḥaẓrat Bēgam ṣāḥiba, younger sister of Muḥammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Amīrul-Hind Nawwāb Wālajah I as detailed in the book Tadhkirātūl-Ansāb, are given in the following pages.

CHILDREN OF SHAYKH ABDU'L-WĀLĪ ALI RUTBAT.

Shaykh ʿAbdu'l-Wālī was married to the daughter of Shaykh ʿAbdu'l-Qādir, son of Shaykh Naʿmullāh. She had a son, Shaykh Khayrullāh, and a daughter, who was given in marriage to Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahīd¹.

Shaykh ʿAbdu'l-Wālī took his second wife, daughter of Mawlawī Ilāhdād and third wife, daughter of Qāzī Muḥammad Rīzā, known as Qāzī Jiwan.

The second wife had a son, Muḥammad Anān, and a daughter Bībī Ujyālī.

The third wife had a son, Munīru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur.

Shaykh Khayrullāh, son of Shaykh ʿAbdu'l-Wālī, by his first wife, was married to Rābiʿa, daughter of Mawlawī Ilāhdād. She had three sons and two daughters.

The sons were Khayru'd-Dīn Khān I, ʿAbdu'l-Ḥakīm Khān, and Ghulām Muḥammad Khān.

Fātima, the first daughter was married to Badru'l-Islām Khān, and Larāi, the second daughter, to ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, son of Shāh ʿAbdu'l-Nabī.

CHILDREN OF KHAYRU'D-DIN KHAN I.

Khayru'd-Dīn Khān I was given in marriage to Arzānī Bī, daughter of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt. He had two sons, ʿAbdu'l-Subḥān Khān Shahīd and ʿAbdu'l-Rahmān.

After the death of Arzānī Bī, Khayru'd-Dīn Khān I married the daughter of Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, son of Qāzī ʿAbdu'l-Wājid. She had three sons and

(1) He is the father of Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wāil-jāh I.

a daughter. The sons are, Shaykh Ghulām Aḥmad, Afzal'ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān and Mawlawī Muṣṭafā Alī Khān. Raḥmat Bībī, the daughter, was given in marriage to Waliullāh Khān.

Children of Shaykh Ghulām Aḥmad.

Shaykh Ghulām Aḥmad, the eldest son of Khayru'd-Dīn Khān I by his second wife, was married to the daughter of Shaykh Aḥmad Khayrābādī, and he had two sons and a daughter.

The sons are Ghulām Muḥammad and Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān.

The daughter was given in marriage to Burhānullāh Khān, son of Iḥsānullāh Khān.

Ghulām Muḥammad, the first son of Shaykh Ghulām Aḥmad went away to Syria after completing his studies and settled down there.

Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, the second son, was married to Āṣima Bībī, daughter of Faḍlullāh Khān, and had four sons and a daughter. The sons are Qudrat Muḥammad, Qudrat Raḥīm Khān, styled *Faḍlullāh Khān*, Qudrat Karīm Khān and Qudrat Ḥakīm Khān.

Qudrat Muḥammad, the first son of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, was married to the daughter of Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Ziyāullāh Khān II and had a son Mawlawī Qudrat Muḥnu'd-Dīn.

Qudrat Muḥammad again married, after the death of his first wife, the daughter of Shaykh Aḥsanullāh, son of Muḥammad Ḥayāt. She had a son, Ḥakīm Qudrat Nabī.

Qudrat Muḥnu'd-Dīn, son of Qudrat Muḥammad by his first wife, was given in marriage

to the daughter of Miṣbāḥullāh Khān Multazim Jang Bahādur. She died without issue. Then he married the daughter of Ḥāfiẓ 'Ināyat Aḥmad, son of Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Sharafu'l Ḥaq. She had a daughter.

Hakīm Qudrat Nabī, son of Qudrat Muḥammad by his second wife, was married to the daughter of Qāẓi'u'l-quzzāt Afẓalu'l-'ulamā Irtazā 'Alī Khān Bahādur. She was blest with children.

Qudrat Raḥīm Khān, styled *Faḥlullāh* Khān, second son of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, was married to the daughter of Qāẓi'u'l-quzzāt Mawlawī Muṣṭafā 'Alī Khān Bahādur. She gave birth to three sons, Muḥammad Qudrat 'Alīm Khān, Mawlawī Qudrat Ḥafīẓ, and Qudrat Ṣafī.

Muḥammad Qudrat 'Alīm Khān was married to the daughter of Mawlawī Quṭbu'd-Dīn, son of Mawlawī 'Imādu'd-Dīn.

Mawlawī Qudrat Ḥafīẓ was married to the daughter of Qāẓi'u'l-quzzāt Irtazā 'Alī Khān Bahādur. She was blest with children.

Qudrat Karīm Khān, third son of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān was married to the daughter of Zafaru'd-Dawla Ruknu'd-Dīn Khān, and was blest with children.

Qudrat Ḥakīm Khān, fourth son of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān was married to the daughter of Ḥājī Hizbu'l-Ḥaq, son of Ḥājī Ziyāullāh Khān and had two sons and a daughter. The first son, Qudrat Ḥasan, became the son-in-law of Ḥājī Karam 'Alī Khān. The second son, Qudrat Ḥaydar

became the son-in-law of Hakīm Qudrat Nabī.

The details about the children of the daughter of Qudrat Hakīm Khān, of the daughter of Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, of Afzalud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān and others may be found in *Khulāṣatul-Ansāb*.

Children of Mawlawī Muṣṭafā 'Alī Khān.

Mawlawī Muṣṭafā 'Alī Khān, the third son of Khayru'd-Dīn Khān I by his second wife, was given in marriage to the second daughter of Qāzī Hakīm 'Alī Khān, son of Qāzī Muḥammad Mubārak, son of Qāzī Muḥammad Dā'im, son of Qāzī Abdu'l-Ḥayy, son of Abdu'l-Ḥalīm, son of Qāzī Mubārak II, son of Qāzī Shihābu'd-Dīn, son of Qāzī 'Alāu'd-Dīn, son of Qāzī Khātīm, son of Qāzī Kabīr, son of Khwāja Mubārak Awliyā (who was the *murīd* and *khalīfa* of Ḥaẓrat Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā), son of Qāzī Abdu'l-Ghanī, son of Qāzī Muḥammad Dā'im.

Mawlawī Muṣṭafā 'Alī Khān had two sons and two daughters.

The first son, Ghulām Mujtabā, styled *Muṣṭafā 'Alī Khān Bahādur* was the Qāziul-quzzāt at Madras.

The second son was Ghulām Sa'īd.

The first daughter was given in marriage to the son of Ḥājī Ziyāullāh Khān. The second daughter became the daughter-in-law of Zakiyyu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān.

Ghulām Mujtabā was married to the daughter of Rōshan Muḥammad Khān, son of Ḥājī Ziyāullāh Khān. He had three sons, and a daughter.

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF KHAYRU'D-DIN KHAN II

The first son, Mawlawī Irtazā 'Alī Khān Bahādur Afzalul-'ulamā, was appointed Qāziul-quzzāt at Madras after the death of his father.

The second son was Ghulām Jilānī, styled *Iṣṭafā-'Alī Khān*.

The third son was Muẓaffar 'Alī, styled *Khayru'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān*.

The daughter was given in marriage to Qudrat Raḥīm Khān.

CHILDREN OF KHAYRU'D-DIN KHAN BAHĀDUR II.

Abdu'l-Ḥakīm Khān, son of Shaykh Khayrullāh, son of Shaykh Abdu'l-Wālī by his first wife was married to the daughter of Ghulām Muḥammad Qāzī-zāda of Gōpamaw. He had a son, Ghulām Pīr, styled *Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Nāẓim Jang*. This Ghulām Pīr Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur II is the grandfather of the humble writer of this book.

Ghulām Pīr Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur II was married to the sister of Nawwāb Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang. After she passed away Ghulām Pīr Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur II took for his wife Karimu'n-nisā Bēgam, known as Ḥaẓrat Bēgam, younger sister of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I. She gave birth to a daughter and six sons.

The daughter, Janglī Bēgam died before the age of puberty on the 19th of Sha'bān 12—A. H.

The first son Abdu'l-Hādī, was styled *Ṣamṣāmīl-Mulḳ Ṣamṣāmī'd-Dawla* Muḥammad *Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Ṣamṣām Jang*. He was given in marriage to the eldest daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and had children. He passed away on the 17th of Ṣafar of 12—A.H.

The second son, ʿAbdu'l-Ḥakīm Khān Bahādur Jalālu'd-Dawla Sardār Jang, died a bachelor in Ḥaydarābād on the 14th of Shā'bān 12—A.H.

The third son, ʿAbdu'l-Qādir Khān, was styled *Amīru'd-Dawla Amīr Jang Bahādur*. He was married in the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, to Rāḥatu'n-nisā Bēgam, who belonged to a noble family of the Nāiṭ community. She gave birth to three sons and a daughter.

The first son, Riṣā Ḥusayn Khān, was married in boyhood to Um rā-Bēgam, known as Amrū Bī, daughter of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān.

The second son, Taqī Ḥusayn Khān Bahadur, was styled *Amīru'd-Dawla*. He was married, during the lifetime of his father, to Ruqayya Bēgam, younger daughter of I'tizādu'd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān by his first wife, and had children.

The third son was Muḥammad Anṣārullāh. As his mother passed away after his birth, the child was brought up by Ḥurmatu'n-nisā Bēgam, mother of Khān-i-Ālam Khān Bahādur. Muḥammad Anṣārullāh was married, after the death of his father during the regency of Nawwāb ʿAzīm Jāh Bahādur, to the daughter of ʿAbdu'l-Ḥayy Khān Naṭhumiyān. She had no children. He came under the influence of a *murshid* and donned the dress of a *faqīr*.

Mumtāz Bēgam, the daughter of ʿAbdu'l-Qādir Khān Amīru'd-Dawla Amīr Jang by Rāḥatu'n-nisā Bēgam, was married during the lifetime of her father in the reign of ʿAzīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III to Sayfu'd-Dawla Bahādur. She became a widow without issue.

Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Amīru'd-Dawla Amīr Jang Bahādur took a second wife, Ābida Bēgam, daughter of Mīrzā Alī Bakht Bahādur¹, during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh III. She gave birth to a son² and a daughter.

The daughter, Āliya Bēgam, became the second wife of Imtiyāzu'd-Dawla Ḥaydar Ḥusayn Khān, son of Tāidu'd-Dīn Akbar.

Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Amīrud-Dawla Amīr Jang Bahādur had by his *ḥaram* two sons and a daughter.

The eldest son, Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān, was born before his father was married formally. Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān was married during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and had children. He died in the lifetime of his own father.

The second son, Ḥaydar Alī and the daughter, the *allātī* sister of Ḥaydar Alī, are still unmarried.

They are under the care of Tāidu'd-Dīn Akbar.

Mehrun-nisā, the *nikāḥ* wife of Amīru'd-Dawla Amīr Jang Bahādur had no children.

Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Amīru'd-Dawla Amīr Jang Bahādur died on the 29th of Dhu'l-ḥajj, 12—A.H.

The fourth son of Ghulām Pīr Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur II by Karīmu'n-nisā Bēgam, was Abdu'l Wālī Khān. He was styled *I'tiṣāmud-Dawla Haybat Jang*. He was given in marriage to the second daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and had children. He passed away on the 17th of Rabī'u'l-awwal, 12—A.H.

Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur, son of Abdu'l-Wālī Khān, had children by wives, *nikāḥ* wives, and women by *muta'* marriage and women kept in *ḥaram*.

(1) He is a Mughal prince. See p. 48 in this book.

(2) Details about this son are not given by the author.

He was married formally during the reign of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II,¹ to Zubayda Khānam, known as Nāz Bānū. The bride belonged to a noble family, but was a stranger to Madras. The mother of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur had brought her up from her childhood, and gave her in marriage to her own son.

Zubayda Khānam gave birth to four sons and four daughters. Two sons and two daughters died in childhood.

Muḥammad Ḥusaynu'd-Dīn, one of her two surviving sons, was honoured with the title *Shahriyārūl-Mulk Muḥammad Ḥusaynu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur* by 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III. He was married to Ḥusaynī Bēgam, daughter of Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur, by his wife Mayja Khānam, and had children.

Sirāju'd-Dīn, the other son was honoured with the title *Mumtāzu'd-Dawla Muḥammad Sirāju'd-Dīn Khān* by Nawwāb Wālājāh III. He was married to Gōri Bī, younger daughter of Nāṣiru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh Khān by his wife Ṣafīyya Khānam. Both the brothers went with their family on a pilgrimage to Karbalā along with Ra'īsu'l-Umarā Bahādur. All died of plague except an young child, Mumtāzu'd-Dawla, who is now brought up by Ghulām Muḥammad Khān.

(1) For an account of the marriage of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur. See *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part III, pp. 78-79.

Ṭāhiru'n-nisā Bēgam and Munīru'n-nisā Bēgam, the twin daughters of Zubayda Khānam, were married during the reign of Nawwāb Wālājāh III and in the lifetime of their grandmother to Qiyāmu'd-Dawla and Qamaru'd-Dawla respectively, sons of Sayfu'd-Dawla Bahādur. They were blest with children.

Jānī Bēgam, daughter of Jukku Miyān, who was brought up from her childhood by the mother of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur was taken in marriage secretly by Majdu'd-Dawla even during the lifetime of his wife and left in charge of his son. Jānī Bēgam died within a year after protracted illness. She had no issue. After some time the wife of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur also died.

Then Majdu'd-Dawla was permitted by his noble mother to marry Ḥusaynī Bēgam, grand-daughter of Wajhu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān. She had two sons and two daughters.

The sons Muḥammad Waliullāh Aḥmad, and Nabīullāh Aḥmad, and the daughters Aẓīma Bēgam, and Ghanīu'n-nisā Bēgam, are under the protection of Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba.

Fayẓu'n-nisā was the *nikāḥ* wife of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur even in the lifetime of his mother. He was very affectionate to her. She gave birth to eight sons and two daughters.

The first son, Muḥammad Ni'matullāh, was married after the death of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur to the daughter of Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk by his *nikāḥ* wife. Ḥusāmu'l-Mulk also got for him the title Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Bahādur from 'Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent. He became

a distinguished man by his association with his father-in-law. He had many children.

The second son, Aḥmadullāh, was married to the daughter of Qawī Jang.

The other six sons are: Ghulām Muḥammad Bāqir, Ghulām Ḥasan Mūsā Riṣā, Ghulām Alī Abdūl-ʿAzīm, Ghulām Muḥammad Maḥzar, Ghulām Alī Ḥusayn Riṣā, and Ghulām Muḥammad Mahdī.

The first daughter, Ghālibu'n-nisā Bēgam was given in marriage to the son of Qawī Jang Bahādur. The second daughter, Ghafūru'n-nisā Bēgam is not yet married.

Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur had a daughter and two sons by Ḥalīmu'n-nisā, his wife by *muta'* marriage.

The daughter, Rābi'a Bēgam known as Amīr Bēgam, was brought up from her childhood by, Muḥammadī Bēgam her aunt and the wife of this humble person. Rābi'a Bēgam was married to Ghulām Aḥmad Khān Bahādur, the *tullātī* brother of the author of this book. She was blest with children. The sons, Ghulām Ḥaydar, and Ghulām Ṣafdar are unmarried.

Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur had a son Raḥīmu'd-Dīn by Gul Bānū, the *ḥaram*. She passed away after the birth of that child. Nawwāb Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādur took care of the child after the demise of the mother of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur. After some time the child passed away.

Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur had two daughters by Khurshīd Bānū, the *ḥaram*.

The first daughter, Sājida Bēgam was married to the son of Nawwāb Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur by *ḥaram*. She became a widow without issue.

CH. 4—CHILDREN OF KHAYRU'D-DIN KHAN II

The second daughter, Bakhshī Bēgam, was married to Muḥammad 'Ināyatullāh, son of 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf Khān, younger brother of Mustaqīm Jang and had children.

Wālā Ḥusayn, Ghulām Walī Ḥasan, Ghulām Sa'īd Muḥammad, Amīnullāh and Muḥammad Ja'far, these five sons of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur were born to other *ḥarams*.

Of these, Ghulām Sa'īd Muḥammad was brought up for some time by Sayyid Murtaẓā Ḥusaynī, son of Mīr Jalālu'd-Dīn Khān. After the demise of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur he came to the house of his mother.

Amīnullāh was brought up by Ḥusaynī Bēgam, the *nikāḥ* wife of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur. After he attained his majority he came to the house of his senior brother.

Muḥammad Ja'far died after the demise of his father.

Sārā Bēgam was another daughter of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur by *ḥaram*. She was brought up by Sājida Bēgam, her sister.

The other *ḥarams* have no issue. They are getting their share of maintenance allowance from the funds paid to Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur.

Maqbūlu'n-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur by his wife, was married to Naṣību'd-Dawla Muḥammadi Miyān. The grandmother of Maqbūlu'n-nisā brought up a girl who belonged to a noble family, gave her the name *Zīnatu'n-nisā* and presented her to Maqbūlu'n-nisā. She tended her very affectionately as her own daughter. This *Zīnatu'n-nisā* was married in 1252 A.H. to Ṣafīu'd-Dīn, son of Muḥammad Kamālu'd-Dīn, the adopted son of Ḥakīm Aḥmad Khān

Bahādur, vakīl of the *ṣāba* of Muḥammadpur (Arcot).

The fifth son of Khayru'd-Dīn Khān by Karīmū'n-nisā Bēgam was Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Khān Bahādur Sardārū'd-Dawla. He was married to Hurmatū'n-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Iḥsānullāh Khān during the lifetime of his own mother. He had two sons, Jān-i-Ālam Khān Bahādur, and Khān-i-Ālam Khān Bahādur.

Jān-i-Ālam Khān Bahādur was married to Munawwar Bēgam, daughter of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk Dilēr Jang Bahādur. A son, ʿAzizū'd-Dawla, was born. Jān-i-Ālam passed away after some years.

Khān-i-Ālam Khān Bahādur was married to Ṣāliḥa Bēgam, during the reign of ʿAzīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III. He had a daughter and two sons.

The daughter Dulhan Bēgam was married to ʿAzīm Jāh Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent.

Khayru'd-Dīn Khān, the eldest son of Khān-i-Ālam Khān, was married to Karīmū'n-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Raḥmatū'n-nisā Bēgam.

Jān-i-Jahān Khān the second son is unmarried.

Details about other children of Khān-i-Ālam Khān Bahādur are not given here.

Khān-i-Ālam Khān was versed in all branches of learning and competent to teach all subjects. He was also a *mashāyikh*, engaged in devotion to Allāh night and day.

Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Khān Bahādur Sardārū'd-Dawla, died on the 24th of the respectable Muḥarram, 12—A.H.

The sixth son of Khayru'd-Dīn Khān by Karīmū'n-nisā Bēgam was Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamsām Jang. He was married to the younger

CH. 4.—CHILDREN OF IFTIKHĀRU'D-DAWLA BAHĀDUR

daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. Details about his children are already related.

Children of Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamṣām Jang by his nikāḥ wives and ḥarams.

Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur had four *nikāḥ* wives : Sakīna Bī, daughter of Walī Muḥammad Khān; Khurshidu'n-nisā, daughter of Āqā Abdu'l-Ālī of Machhlibandar (Masulipatam); Fāṭima Khānam, daughter of Dalīl Khān the Afghān; 'Izzatu'n-nisā, the adopted daughter of Shaykh Aḥmad of Chennapattan (Madras).

During the reign of 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, Khayru'n-nisā became the *nikāḥ* wife of Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur.

Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur had three *ḥarams*.

Sakīna Bī the *nikāḥ* wife had no issue.

Khurshidu'n-nisā, the second *nikāḥ* wife, had a daughter and a son. The daughter was married to Ghulām Nabī Khān, son of Zuhūrullāh Khān. She died of child-birth. The son, Muḥammad Khayru'd-Dīn died within forty days of his mother's death.

Fāṭima Khānam, the third *nikāḥ* wife, had no issue. She died during the lifetime of her husband.

'Izzatu'n-nisā, the fourth *nikāḥ* wife, had five daughters. The first daughter, Jahāndār Bēgam, was married to Ghulām Muḥammad Mūsā Khān, the *ṭallātī* brother of Sayfu'd-Dawla. She had children. The second daughter, Iftikhārū'n-nisā, was married to Qādir Ālī Khān Khādū Miyān, the *ṭallātī* brother of Murād Ālī Khān. She had children. The third daughter, Zamāniya Bēgam, was married to Mīr Muḥammad Fakhrū'd-Dīn Khān, brother-in-law of Ashrafu'l-Mulk. She had children and later became a widow. The fourth daughter, Ashrafu'n-nisā, and the fifth daughter, Jahāniya Bēgam, were married after the death of their father. Ashrafu'n-nisā was married

to Ghulām Nabī, sister's son of Qādir Alī Khān; Jāhāniya Bēgam was married to Ṣalābat Khān Naṣīrul Mulk Bahādur. They had children.

Knayru'n-nisā, the *nikāḥ* wife of Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur had no issue. She is a widow.

Surūr Afzā Khānam, another *nikāḥ* wife had a son and a daughter. The son, Ghulām Muḥammad Khān Bahādur was married to Amīr Bēgam, the *ullātī* sister of Ghulām Abbās Alī Sayfu'l-Mulk. She had children. The daughter, Amatu'l-Rasūl, known as Wazīra Bēgam, is unmarried.

Gulāb, Kēwṛā and Rōshan Maḥfil, the *ḥarams* have no issue. They live with the daughters of ʿIzzatu'n-nisā Bēgam.

Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāsir Khān Bahādur, joined to the mercy of God on the 1st of Jumādī'ul-awwal, 1236 A.H.

Particulars about the children of Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur by his wife.

I'tizādu'd-Dawla Bahādur, first son of Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur, had no issue by Ashraf Bī, his *nikāḥ* wife. But he had a son, Abbās Ḥusayn, by another woman. As soon as this son was born, he gave the child to Ashraf Bī who brought him up. After the demise of I'tizādu'd-Dawla, this humble person, in accordance with his *waṣiyyat*, recognised the rights of Abbās Ḥusayn, regarded him kindly and inquired about him. But unfortunately Abbās Ḥusayn is not included in the list of the heirs of I'tizādu'd-Dawla Bahādur entitled for pension.

Some years before, Ashraf Bī obtained the permission of ʿAzīm Jāh Bahādur, the Nawwāb-Regent, to go to Muḥammadpūr (Arcot) with Abbās Ḥusayn. At Muḥammadpūr she got him married to the daughter of a noble family and returned. He was blest with children.

CH. 4.—CHILDREN OF IFTIKHARU'D-DAWLA BAHADUR

I'tizādu'd-Dawla had five *ḥarams*. Of these three died childless. One of the two surviving *ḥarams* had a daughter.

This humble servant has five *ḥarams*. One died, during the reign of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, and another during the reign of Aẓimu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III. The third *ḥaram* is one of the slave girls in the house of the late Bēgam. The fourth, Rōshan, known as *Khurshid Liqā*, is of bad temper. She does not live with me (the author of this book), but lives with the slave girls in the house of the late Bēgam. The fifth *ḥaram* is attached to the present Bēgam.

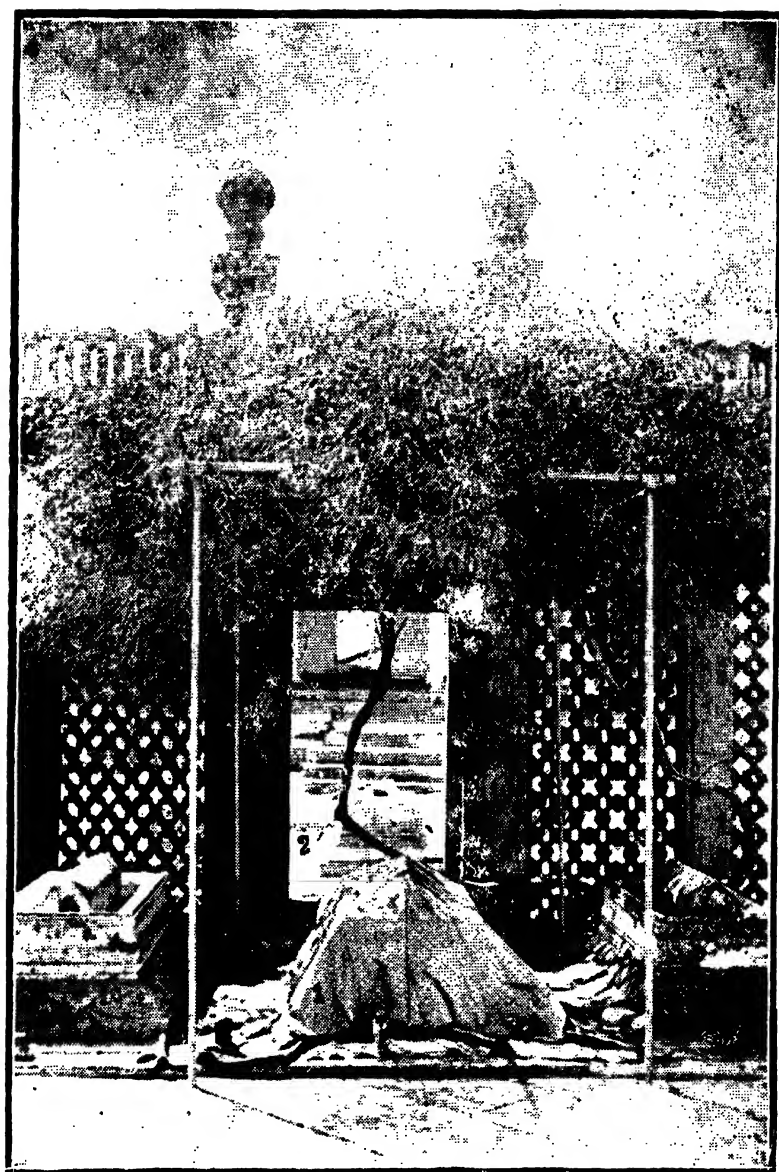
Nāṣiru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullah Khān, third son of Iftikhāru'd-Dawla Bahādur, had children by his wife.

Besides these children he had a son and three daughters by Naṣibu'n-nisā Bēgam, his *nikāḥ* wife. The son is, Khayrāt-Ālī. Two daughters died and one is unmarried.

Nāṣiru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullah Khān had two daughters and a son by Ṣāfiyya Khānam. The first daughter, Shakūru'n-nisā Bēgam was married to Bāqir Ḥusayn Khān, son of Khān-i-Jahān Khān Bahādur. She died of child-birth, in the reign of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. The second daughter, Kilan Bēgam was married to Mumtāzu'd-Dawla Sirāju'd-Dīn Khān, son of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur. She had children. Her whole family passed away by attack of plague in the holy Karbalā. The son, Aṣghar Ḥusayn, who survived his parents, also passed away after some time.

Nāṣiru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullah Khān had by other *ḥaram* two sons, Akbar Ḥusayn and Fīrūz Ālī.

I have narrated here whatever I knew about the wives and children of the Nawwābs.



1. The tomb of Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahīd
in Haydarābād
(Father of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I.).
2. The tomb of Shāh Waliūllāh Ṣāhib, the *murshid* of the Nawwāb Shahīd.
The tombs on either end are those of the relatives of the *murshid*.

EPILOGUE.

Plentiful praise be to Allāh

Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Sirāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, the kind and benevolent Regent, ordered me to compile an account of the period of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. In obedience to the command, all particulars dating from the last days of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I to the end of the period of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, a summary of facts relating to the reigns of Aẓimu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, the coronation of Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V, and the regency of Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur together with the genealogy of the family of Anwar were collected mostly from *Anwarnāma*, *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī*, *Tadhkirat-ul-Ansāb* and other books, and brought into this volume, while a number of other details were added to it from my memory.

I give thanks to Heaven that this great work is finished during the lifetime of this humble servant.

In the past, during the days of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadi, the tutor to the royal princes, in accordance with the orders of the prince 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, compiled a narrative in verse recording all the facts in the periods of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahīd and Nawwāb Wālājāh I. He gave the name *Anwarnāma* to his book and submitted it to the prince 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur.

The prince went through it and congratulated Mīr Abjadi on the completion of his work. Then he said to him:

"Keep this book with you for the present. The Nawwāb, my father, has fixed the 14th of Shawwāl, for weighing himself out in the balance. It is necessary that you come with the book on that date to the big dīwān-khāna in the afternoon. I shall also be present then and bring the book to the notice of the Nawwāb. You must offer this book as nadhr to the Nawwāb after the weighing ceremony is finished."

Mīr Abjadī was present at the dīwān-khāna as per instructions of the prince, and offered the Nawwāb the *Anwarnāma* after completion of the weighing ceremony.

The Nawwāb smiled sweetly and accepted the nadhr of Mīr Abjadī. He glanced over the book, handed it over to Hashmat Jang Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Bahādur and said to him:

"You are well acquainted with the art and composition of poetry and know how to recite it. You may now read some verses from the *Muqaddima*".

After Hashmat Jang read out some verses, Nawwāb Wālājāh I addressed the prince Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, Mubārīz Jang and Sālār Jang as follows:

"Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī had taken pains to compile this work. I have the desire of honouring him with the presents of a khilāt-i-mahmūdī from my wardrobe, and a dushālā, and weighing him out, along with his book, in silver."

Then he ordered Ālī Dil Khān, the dārughā of the malbūs-khāna, to get ready a khilāt-i-mahmūdī and a dushālā, to dress him up in new costumes and weigh him out with the book in silver. Ālī Dil Khān carried out the orders of the Nawwāb.

Then the Nawwāb conferred upon Mīr Abjadī the title *Bahādur*.

As Mīr Abjadī was emaciated with old age, the weight of silver amassed in the scales was not to his heart's content. Next day, he went early in the morning to Kuhna-bāgh, later on

known as Muḥammad-bāgh, and submitted thus to the prince 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur.

"If this old man had previous knowledge of the manner of the grant of gift by the Nawwāb, he would have presented himself at the *darbār* with heavy stones hidden under his clothes. That is just it. May Allāh keep the Nawwāb and the prince safe for many years! Great gifts are in store for me."

On listening to Mīr Abjadī, the prince laughed loudly and said to him:

"Don't give way to anxiety. To-morrow afternoon, I shall, with the help of God, tell everything to the Nawwāb and arrange to invite you to the *darbār*. It is left to you to succeed in your aim by making proper use of your wits."

Next day Mīr Abjadī was invited to the *darbār*. On that day he was sparkling with wit when he represented the facts to Nawwāb šāhib. The Nawwāb was very kind to him. He presented him again with silver equal to his weight, and a green *pālkī* with accessories. The Nawwāb also raised his salary from sixty rupees to one hundred and five rupees per month.

During the days of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādur collected materials for preparing a history of the periods of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Nawwāb Wālājāh II, with particulars of their wives and children, got a volume written by Munshī Muḥammad Burhān Khān Hāndī, in conformity with the beauty of form and literary style, and gave it the name *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī*. But the book was completed after the death of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. If it had been finished during his reign, it would have fetched large presents. Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādur was looking forward to prosperous times when he could present Munshī Burhān with suitable gifts and looked after the Munshī throughout his lifetime.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

With the help of God, the compilation of *Sawāniḥāt-i-Mumtāz* that has been undertaken by me in obedience to the command of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Sirāju'l-Umarā Bahādur, is now finished. I expect from the kind and benevolent Nawwāb, suitable gifts which would bring relief to me, and *maṇṣab* and *marātib* which would exalt me in rank enjoyed by my forefathers. Thus I look forward to spend my remaining days in all comforts and happiness under the protection of the gracious and gentle Nawwāb.

Mīr Khurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī, in accordance with the orders of the Nawwāb-Regent, took great pains to correct the language of the book *Sawāniḥāt-i-Mumtāz*.

Although the book was completed in 1250 A. H. a fair copy of it could not be got ready till 27th, Dhu'l-ḥajja, 1252 A. H.

Mīr Khurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī prepared a summary of this book in a beautiful style with a view to present it to the Nawwāb-Regent.

APPENDIX A.

THE SERINGAPATAM CORRESPONDENCE.

Copy of such parts of the CORRESPONDENCE discovered in the Palace at Seringapatam, and alluded to in the Letter from the Right Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 3rd August, 1801, as are not included in the Appendix to the Declaration of the Governor of Fort St. George, dated 31st July, 1801.

Translation of a LETTER from Mohummud Osmaun, Vakeel at Madras, to Hyder Ally Khaun, dated 6th of Zykeed 1186, answering to the 30th January, 1773.

“Agreeably to your orders; I had an audience of the Nabob, at which, after expressing in strong terms the friendship that subsisted between us, I requested the passport for the arms. Immediately on hearing these expressions of friendship, his Highness acquiesced in my demand of the passport, and taking me by the hand, led me to the top of the house, where there was a room, from whence the beautiful prospect of the Sea, Fort St. George, etc., like a plain appearing to our view, he remarked what a beautiful spot it was, and added, May Almighty God soon produce a cause, from which the Nabob Hyder Ally Khaun and I shall be enabled here to sit and enjoy ourselves together.” He proceeded in these words: “The Nabob Hyder Ally Khaun, inattentive to the value of my friendship, has always considered me separate from himself; whilst I have ever considered us as one: I may say indeed that I look on his exis-

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

tence as my own flesh and skin, and it is incumbent upon him to do the same. It is necessary that a friendship should subsist between us so firm, as that both our Countries also should be one; that if any enemy (which God prevent) should burn one of his villages, I ought to feel as if one of my own was consumed; and were one of mine to be destroyed by the fire of an enemy, he ought to feel as if one of his were destroyed": Again he observed: "Your Master may make many friends, and doubtless will, but such a friend as I am he never can acquire; when friendship shall be established between us, then it will be seen what the friendship of friends is. I am that friend, who, if he (which God prevent) should require the sacrifice of my child, as a means of promoting his prosperity and dominion, would, looking upon this as the greatest blessing in the world, most willingly deliver my offspring up to him. It is my wish to establish such a friendship with your Master, that our children after us may be united in the bonds of affection and of love. Let us therefore, during this transitory life, be friendly and united, and render good offices to each other, since in the next no person can be connected with another; it is indeed singularly happy that Almighty God has been so bounteous to each, as that we want for nothing else than friendship and affection; it is incumbent upon us mutually to transmit to one another presents and rarities, etc., which God has bestowed on both, which amongst friends, is a source of satisfaction, a means of over-awing others, and in every respect seemly. If therefore any thing in your Master's country should be wished or required by me, let me take it without any apology; and in like manner should he want any thing from mine, let him send for it without excuse; this is the mode in which the Princes of former times displayed their friendship for each other, and in the present times it is the same." Your slave (Mohummud Osmaun) upon hearing all these friendly expressions, made the two following remarks: "Almighty God has bestowed upon your Highness (the Nabob) a general knowledge of every matter, and

APPENDIX A

a clear understanding. My Master (Hyder Ally) contemplating by anticipation from his own great foresight all that I have now heard, and wishing to promote a unity with you, addressed to you a Letter; wherefore did your Highness not write him in return?". He answered "I am convinced that your Master wrote me that Letter of condolence in friendship; but while I cherished in my mind his friendly sentiments, I judged it unprosperous and improper, as a beginning of friendship, to reply to a Letter of condolence, and therefore failed to write to him; but should he wish in future to maintain a correspondence with me, I will look upon him, and address him as a King." My second observation was as follows: "Almighty God has made your Highness powerful and great. The Mahrattas you know to be evil-minded and wickedly disposed; during three years they were at war with my Master, and overran and destroyed his Country to the value of many crores. Notwithstanding his repeated demands of assistance from you, with an offer of paying the expenses of the troops, how did you continue inattentive to his wish, and an inactive spectator? It would appear then, that you were unwilling to have him for a neighbour (or a friend) and preferred the neighbourhood or friendship of the Mahrattas." He replied: "The sentiments you express are precisely my own. May the Almighty destroy and root out the Mahrattas! It is with this object in view, that I am anxious to establish an alliance with your Master, that in future whatever we may do may be concerted and engaged in with one heart and tongue, whether to make war or peace, because hitherto he has not, in the first instance, made application to me, nor communicated with me, upon any subject. When he attacked the Europeans, and made peace with the English, who were my servants, it depended upon my consent to conclude it. I was the Prince and owner of the country, and was at no great distance from the scene; but not a word, not a sentence, not even a man, did he think proper to send to me. Hence I

could not but conclude that he wished not to be in unity and friendship with me, and consequently what ought I to have to do with his other wars and pacifications. Had your Master maintained friendship and correspondence with me, and had I then neglected to fulfil my obligations, and remained an inactive spectator, these might be grounds for complaint; but let us totally forget the past, and if the Nabob Hyder Ally Khaun should conceive that nothing or no advantage is to be gained from my friendship, let him reflect that the most trifling degree of its advantage is this; that if every year, whatever number of arms he may be able to purchase and carry away from this quarter, he may do so without molestation; it is no less a privilege than what he possesses in his own Country. In the present instance, when you applied for a passport to the Governor, you knew the answer he gave; he does not choose to comply with your request. Upon a principle of foresight, I consider your Master's friendship as paramount to every thing; it is incumbent likewise on your Master to do the same by me, and continue firm in his friendship, for our two hearts are in reality one."

His Highness further added, that an odd incident had occurred, and told me, laughing at the same time, that when your Highness came down upon the English, he was in this very Garden where we were, and sending answers to the Letters which he received; that the People told him: "To-day the English Gentlemen are embarking upon a pilgrimage". Here the conversation broke up, and his Highness desired me to come to-morrow for the dustuck.

P.S.—In your former Letter to the Nabob, your address was such as to produce an observation from him, "that people in general write thus to their servants." It will be necessary, therefore to consider this in future, that no offence may be taken. His Highness gave me an English pocket-book, as a

APPENDIX A

present for you, which I enclose. If you send him something handsome in exchange, I think it would be proper.

(A true translation).

(Signed) N.B. EDMONSTONE,
Persian Translator to the Government.

Translation of a Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Nawaub Walajah. Appendix No. VIII to the Madras Governors' Declaration of 31st July, 1801 A.D.

In the name of the most merciful God! After reiterated praises and unbounded adoration to the Almighty, who assembled the body of Mussalmans under the banners of Mahomed, and lighted the torch of mutual attachment among them, and praise to the Chosen of Prophets, who promulgated the saying, "all Mussalmans are brothers," and took upon himself the task of intercession for all Believers; and after intimating my desire of being personally known to your Highness, and which, as it exceeds the power of the pen to describe, must be left to the heart to conceive, I have the honour to represent that the receipt of your Highness' kind Letter after so long a lapse of time—(according to the saying, "all things depend upon the appointed season")—rejoiced me extremely, and your Highness's obliging recollection of me excited my acknowledgments, and I return thanks to Almighty Providence for the joyful news of the welfare of the Well-wisher of mankind (meaning the Nawaub himself); my delaying to address your Highness has been owing to my not having been favoured with any Letters from your Highness. By the grace of God! your Highness is pre-eminent, characterized for all praise-worthy qualities, and acquainted with all affairs. It is probable that your Highness's delay in writing to me may have been occasioned by the particular circumstances of the times, and in consequence I also have delayed to write, else I should have written to you a hundred times. Now by the receipt of your

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

Highness's Letter, and the account of your Highness's friendship and attachment, which I have had from the verbal communication of the high in rank the *Distinguished in Friendship*, the trusty. I am certain that (according to the words of the Prophet, the union of the Mussalmans is as that of the soul with the body) that warmth of attachment, original affection, implanted among Mussalmans, exists between us. My hope from Almighty God, and my confidence in the Prophet, which is well known to all Mussalmans, all the faithful will exert themselves with heart and soul in maintaining and rendering permanent the religion of Mahomed upon your Highness, who is one of the heads of the Faith; this is an absolute duty, and I am confident that your Highness will by all means be constantly satisfied that you will shew that kindness which is becoming your exalted station, towards my two Sons, your guests, and who are as your own. I hope that regarding me inwardly and as your well-wisher, and that of all Mussalmans, you will continue to rejoice me by Letters; you will learn my Father's sentiments from the representations of the high in rank, the *Distinguished in Friendship*.

Dated 11th of Takre of the year Sikir 1220, from the tenth of Mahomedi (corresponding with the 29th of November, 1792).

(A true translation).

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,
&c. &c.

Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan and Alli Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated the 16th of Jaffree of the year Sehir 1220 A. N. Mahomed (answering to about 4th August, 1792). Appendix No. IV of the Madras Governors' Declaration.

On the 8th Tehejch (29th July, 1792) the Nabob Walajah sent a Message to us by Mahomed Abdoola Khan, that the following day, being that preceding the Eed, he would, if we

APPENDIX A

desired it, pay a visit to the Princes, as he was very anxious to see his Sons (as he called them). In reply, we begged he would give our respects, and represent to his Highness, that the houses of the Princes, and they themselves, were his own, and that the Princes were his guests, that he was their Superior, and his Company there would afford them much happiness; but that, if he wished it, we ourselves would most readily attend him. Accordingly at one pas of the following day (about 9 o'clock) Walajah, accompanied by Omdut ul Omrah and Hussein Newauz Khan, paid a visit to the Princes, and taking them upon his knees for about two hours, blessed them, and said, "May God long and permanently preserve the shadow of Tippoo Sultaun extended over you and me, since in this age the preservation of Religion depends upon him alone. I have passed my eightieth year, and in that time many are the things I have seen and done, and experienced. What is passed is passed, and God only knows what futurity may bring to light. At present the maintenance of Religion rests with Tippoo Sultaun, and may God preserve and keep him victorious and triumphant! I do not say this merely in your presence; but I say it, taking to witness Him who knows all that is hidden. Night and day, after the prayers of the day, and on Friday after public devotion, I offer up my prayers (meaning for Tippoo Sultaun) and require the people also to do the same." His Highness spoke to us also in terms of great warmth and friendship, and after sitting two hours went away. As Walajah had paid a visit to the Princes, it became necessary that they should return it, and consequently they waited upon him the next day, which was the Eedoo Zoha (or Feast of the Camel); the Nawaub, accompanied by Omdut ul Omrah and the other Sirdars, came out to meet them as on the feast day, and having assisted the Princes in alighting from their palanquins, took them within the house, where he repeatedly caressed them both, and said—"God preserve the Sultaun in safety, for through him alone these rituals and observances of the faith (alluding probably to

the Eed) yet remain." He then observed to us—"In my first conversation with you, I spoke to you upon the subject of establishing a friendship and harmony between me and Tippoo Suldaun. Have you intimated it to him, and have you received a favourable answer?" We replied, that we had set forth to your Majesty, word for word, the friendly sentiments his Highness had expressed, and that your Majesty had written in reply, that friendship, union, and brotherly regard had from the beginning been established among the professors of Islamism, as was evinced by the testimony of the holy book, agreeably to the prescriptions of which your Majesty wished, that cordial friendship and attachment should, without prejudice or partiality, be established between the followers of the faith, as the means of supporting the religion of Mahomed. And that your Majesty added,—"God preserve the Nawaub Walajah, who is a Prince, and one of the Leaders of the Faithful, and a Pillar of the Faith.—At the term, 'a Pillar of the Faith' the Nawaub could not suppress his tears, and said, "I am what I know myself to be." Tell the Suldaun, that *he* is the Pillar of the Faith; and may God preserve him and grant him a long life, since I and all Mussalmen derive support from him; for otherwise the state of affairs here is evident. That which is evident does not require explanation." We also, in conformity to your Majesty's commands, mentioned to his Highness, in a becoming and suitable manner, whatever there was to state upon the subject of friendship and attachment. His Highness replied:—"In consideration of the complexion of the times, the state of which is manifest, and that the support of the Religion of Mahomed in this Country entirely depends upon the Suldaun, my nightly and daily prayer is offered up for his good." He then said to the Princes "Oh! my Sons! if my life and property can be of any service to you, God is witness that I will not refuse them to you." He then gave orders to the superintendent of the gardens, to carry every day fruits and flowers to the Princes before his (the

APPENDIX A

Nabob's) own children; and said to us—"You are not acquainted with the state and order of affairs here. Consider me from my heart your well-wisher and sincere friend; and at all times be assured, that in whatever I may be able to effect your benefit, either by word or deed, I will not decline my exertions. What I said and wrote to his Lordship upon the subject of making peace, God well knows who was then or is now desirous of it. His Lordship, however, possessed uncontrolled authority, was a man of wisdom, and listened to the advice of others and my observations made an impression upon him. God preserve you and me from the wicked designs of others." Major Doveton and another Officer, being of the party, his Highness appealed to them, observing, that they had been present at the time, and could speak to the truth or falsity of what he said. Major Doveton replied that it was very true; and that several English gentlemen were consequently much displeased with his Highness. That one day, when his Highness had assembled all the gentlemen, under pretence of giving them an entertainment, but really for the above purpose, and had accordingly suggested pacific measures, the expediency of which he urged in a thousand ways, they were so displeased that they went away without partaking of the entertainment, nay, that to their animosity might be attributed the assumption of His Highness's country. That when the orders were received from the King of England to restore the country, they framed the pretence among themselves that his Highness was too much attached to Tippoo Sultaun; and that the restitution of his Country would consequently be an impolitic measure; but his Lordship maintained his opinion singly, and, disregarding the animosity of all the others against his Highness, delivered to him (his Highness) the Country, agreeably to the directions of his Majesty....."

(A true translation).

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,

&c. &c.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

*Translation of a Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun
to Omdut ul Omrah, the Nabob of the Carnatic.
Appendix No. IX.*

After reiterating praises and unbounded adoration to the Almighty who hath adorned the multitude of the professors of Islamism with the gem of Religion, and lighted the torch of friendship for each other in the region of the heart, and endless thanks worthy of the last of the Messengers of God (Mahomed) who with his prophetic tongue spoke this divine saying, that "all Mussulmans are brothers;" and who was pleased to take upon himself the task of intercession for all Believers; and after intimating my desire of personal communication, and which, as it exceeds the power of the pen to describe, must be left to the heart to conceive, I set forth my object. By the grace of God the most sincere attachment and perfect unanimity have from the beginning been established among the Believers of the enlightened doctrine of Mahomed, but every event has its proper season, and hence no opportunity has yet offered for the external demonstration of our mutual regard. Now however the receipt of your kind letter, replete with the friendly sentiments with which our hearts are mutually impressed, had doubly added to my sincere attachment and cordial regard; when I learnt also from the intimation of the high in rank, the *Distinguished in Friendship*, the trusty, of your great and noble qualities, and the sincere friendship and cordiality you entertain towards me, my happiness was greater than language can adequately express; may God realize this source of happiness; that is to say, that perfect attachment and union among the Followers of Islaum, which is the greatest gift of the Almighty, and than which nothing is more essential to the temporal and eternal interests of mankind. May God render it attainable, and may he preserve us firm in the faith of Mahomed, the boundless benefits resulting from which will by the divine grace be manifested.

APPENDIX A

I am confident that you will direct your attention to the adjustment of affairs between me and the *Well-wisher of Mankind*, who is the chief and principal of the professors of Islamism; and that deeming me from my heart your well wisher, you will always keep me in your recollection by your friendly Letters; all other particulars may be made known to you from the representations of the high in rank.

May prosperity and happiness attend you!

Dated the 15th of the Zakru of the year Sehir 1220 (answering to the 29th November, 1792).

(A true translation).

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,
&c. &c.

Extract of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to Alli Rezza Khan and Gholaum Alli Khan; dated at Seringapatam, the 16th of Hejire, of the year Sehir 1220 from the Birth of Mahomed. Appendix No. V.

I have received and understood the contents of your Arzee, intimating the distinguished kindness and regard with which the Nawaub Walajah treats my Sons, and the sincere friendship which he entertains towards me. It is evident that the Nawaub is a Pillar of the Mahomedan Religion, the Elect of the Almighty, a man of dignity and worldly experience; whatever favour and attention he may shew towards my Sons, who are his guests, and you, I shall assuredly consider as a kindness conferred upon myself. This circumstance has afforded me much pleasure.

My hopes from Almighty God and his Divine Messenger are, that the Nawaub will do whatever may tend to the support of the Religion of Mahomed, and that he will give the necessary attention to this point. You will mention to him that he must consider my Sons as his own; that in conformity to the command of God and the Prophet, the improvement of friendship among the professors of Islamism will be beneficial

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

to various concerns both spiritual and temporal, and that, deeming me attached to our common religion and to his Highness's person, he will direct his attention accordingly; you will also state to the Nawaub the other points of friendship, which you have repeatedly heard from my mouth.

(A true translation).

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,
&c. &c.

No. VI.

KEY to a CYPHER found among the Records at Seringapatam, and received at Calcutta on the 2nd of March, 1880. Appendix No. VI.

Oh God, glorious and exalted! Oh Prophet of God! May the Blessing of the Lord be upon him. Religion. Bishteh.

The Nabob Walajah,
*the well-wisher of
Mankind.*

The Nabob Tippoo
Sultaun, *the Defen-
der or Protector of
the Faith.*

The English, *Newcom-
ers.*

Ali Rezza, *the Distin-
guished in Friend-
ship.*

Nothing or Nonentity,
Nizam ul Dowlah.

*The Mean or Despi-
cable, The Mahrattas.*

The Power of God,
A Saddle.

The Victorious, *A
Scymeter.*

A Flower, A Present.

Hearts,
Sons.

A State or Dominion,
A Ring.

*The Restorer of the
Faith, Omdut ul
Omrah.*

The Faith of Religion
Gholaum Alli Khan.

Nawaub Saheb, *The
Spring, a Flower
Garden.*

A Letter, *an Interview.*
Benevolent, *the*
Hand. A Heart, *A*
Seal.

The Writing of Omdut ul Omrah.

(A true translation).

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,

&c. &c.

These words are written by one of Tippoo Sultaun's Moonshées.

APPENDIX A

Translation of a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan to Tippoo Sultaun. Appendix No. VII.

The departure of Alli Rezza Khan at this time, in conformity to the orders of the presence, is very expedient, especially for the purpose of bringing to a favourable issue the propositions of Lord Cornwallis, and the *Well-wisher of Mankind* (The designation of the Nabob Walajah in the Cypher) which is most ardently to be wished.

There are many points which cannot be committed to paper, and can only be communicated in person; at this time the friendship and goodwill of both Sirdars is from God, and the royal auspices; the particulars of this summary, which is an unlooked-for-good, will be made known to your Majesty by the verbal representations of Alli Rezza, who attends the Presence especially for that purpose; although it is contrary to the rules of respect to presume to give an opinion upon this subject, yet I am emboldened by my long attachment and my sense of the duty I owe your Majesty; when your Majesty shall have maturely deliberated upon, and fully brought home to your mind the representation of both the Sirdars, from a consideration of the changeableness of the times, your Majesty's agreeing to this affair—(upon the principle recommended in the words of Hafiz of Shiraz, the mercy of God be upon him! With friends, cordiality; with enemies, dissimulation) seems highly expedient and advantageous to your Majesty's interests.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,

&c. &c.

Translation of a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan to Tippoo Sultaun (without date). Appendix No. X.

On the second of Rehmany of the year Schir 1200, Mohummudee (answering to about the 14th January, 1793) the

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

Nabob Walajah sent a message to Khadar Nawaz Khan to this effect,—Whatever animosity and estrangement formerly existed between us (meaning himself and Tippoo Sultaun) are now, thank God, completely removed. If the slightest trace of them remain in my heart, I am no Mussulman, nay of another sect; and on the part of the Hyderree Sircar also, I am confident the same friendly sentiments are entertained: God knows, and the Prophet is witness, on the most deliberate reflection and deep consideration, I see no one Sirdar who has at heart the interests of the true Faith except Tippoo Sultaun, and after him this sinner (of whom the same may be said in some degree). In the second place, the sight of the Princes gives new force to the attachment and regard that my heart feels; indeed it is superfluous to express this; hence I offer up my most earnest prayers to God for the welfare of the Sultaun, and the prosperity of the affairs of the Hyderree Sircar. From the impulse of these sentiments it is requisite that I should communicate some articles of intelligence, which are as follows: I have always kept stationed in Bengal several persons of the higher class, for the purpose of collecting and transmitting secret intelligence daily. In the Paper of Intelligence which came on the 25th of Rubuossaunee 1207 (10th December, 1793) it is stated, that Sir Charles Malet, the English Resident at Poonah, has written to Lord Cornwallis, that numerous messengers from the Khodadad Sircar daily pass to and fro between Seringapatam and Poonah; whence it would seem that Tippoo Sultaun was endeavouring to form a close connection and alliance with the Poonah Government and through that Government with the Mogul (Nizam Alli Khan); and that deeming this information of importance, he had written it to his Lordship. The Members of Council in Bengal on hearing this, are said to have stated their opinion to his Lordship, that Tippoo Sultaun was infringing the settlement which had taken place between him and his Lordship, and was

APPENDIX A

entertaining views of a sinister nature; that, for example, the Sultaun withheld payment of the Kists, as prescribed in the Treaty, and refused to release the European and other Prisoners, subjects of the Company; that this sort of discourse had excited some degree of suspicion, nay even of alarm, in his Lordship's mind. Such is the present state of affairs; what, in the judgment of this well-wisher, now appears expedient is this, in a short time his Lordship will go to Europe; the Princes, please God, will soon return, and the Kists are in a course of payment; after his Lordship's departure the liquidation of the Kists and other points, whatever may be his Highness's (Tippoo's) pleasure, will be right and proper; at present it is better to be silent upon every thing, because at this time his Highness's honour would at all events be called in question. When another shall arrive from Europe, the imputation will in every respect and in every measure fall upon him.

(A true translation).

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,

&c. &c.

Extract from a Letter from Gholaum Alli Khan and Alli Rezza Khan, to Tippoo Sultaun; dated 25th Behauree of the year Sehir 1221, A. N. Mahomed (answering to about the 5th of June 1793.) Appendix No. XII.

Refuge of the world! yesterday the *Well-wisher of Mankind* sent the following message by Khadar Newaz Khan: "At this time a complete rupture has taken place between the English and the French. The story of the King of the French and their domestic commotions are well known. Six or seven European Powers have united for the destruction of the French, and you will soon hear that the whole of the French territory has been divided amongst others. The English (Troops) here at Madras will proceed in a day or two against Pondicherry. Although there is a body of Troops in that

place, yet domestic dissensions have risen to the utmost pitch there and nothing will be done, and the place will at length be taken. My object in mentioning this event is this:—The Vakeel of the Ahmedy Sircar, who was at Pondicherry, has lately, it seems, returned to the presence (Tippoo Sultaun.) Please God, there is no doubt that the Sultaun keeps in view all the ups and downs of the time. At this time no kind of assistance will be afforded; but out of that friendship which I feel for the Sultaun, I recommend that the Vakeel remain a short time at the presence, and also that epistolary correspondence be discontinued for a short time. Although a friendly connexion has long subsisted with the French, on the part of the Ahmedy Sircar, yet, considering the circumstances of the times, it is not advisable (that is to maintain an epistolary correspondence with the French); should there be any point of urgency to communicate, there is no objection to do it verbally. For God's sake, let not the Sultaun ascribe what I say to a wrong motive; I am actuated solely by my good wishes in making this communication. Since the day that a cordial union took place between us, let me be no longer a Mussulman, nor a Servant of God, if I have not always offered up my prayers for the Sultaun's good, and afterwards for my own. May the Almighty preserve firm and uninjured the Mahomedan Church, and the safety of the Sultaun!

(A true translation).

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,

&c. &c.

APPENDIX B.

Extracts from official papers on the transactions leading to the accession of Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III to the *masnad* of the Carnatic.

(1) Report of Messrs. Webbe and Close on their negotiations with the Regents and Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur containing :

(a) The propositions of the Regents, and,

(b) The propositions of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādur.

(2) Lord Clive's letter to Lord Wellesley dated 27th July, 1801.

(3) Declaration of the Governor of Fort St. George dated 31st July, 1801.

(4) Proceedings on the signing of the Treaty with Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

(5) Dispatch to the Court of Directors dated 3rd August, 1801.

Copy of a REPORT¹ of Messrs. Webbe and Close, explanatory of their Proceedings at the Palace of his late Highness the Nabob, in their Interviews or Negotiations with the Regents and Taje ul Omrah.

First Day's Proceedings 15th July, 1801.

In conformity to your Lordship's instructions, we proceeded to the Palace of Chepauk, having previously caused a message intimating our approach to be communicated, through

(1) Extracted from Papers presented to the House of Commons from the East India Company concerning the late Nabob of the Carnatic—ordered to be printed 21st and 23rd June, 1802; and to be reprinted 26th February, 1807.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

the channel of Lieutenant Colonel Mac Neil, to the principal Officers of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

On our arrival at Chepauk, we were received by Nejeeb Khan, Tuckia Ally Khan, Kadar Nawas Khan, and Mr. Thomas Barrett, who introduced themselves as the principal Officers of the Government of his Highness Omdut ul Omrah. Nejeeb Khan appeared to hold no distinct office, but to have been a companion of the Family since the time of Anwar ud deen Khan, and to have been consulted generally on all occasions of interest to the Nabob of the Carnatic. Tuckia Ally Khan was entrusted with the military affairs of the late Nabob. Kadir Nawas Khan superintended the general and internal departments of his Highness's Government; but the most important department of his Highness's Government, the administration of the revenues of the Carnatic, had been entrusted to the charge of Mr. Barrett. As that branch of the Nabob's Government affected more particularly than any other the rights and interests of the Company, we judge it to be proper to explain to your Lordship, that Mr. Barrett is of the lowest tribe of native Portuguese, equally destitute of education, manners, and knowledge.

We enquired whether any particular arrangement had been made by the Nabob for the administration of the affairs of his Government, in the event which had recently occurred; and having been informed that an authentic will, under his seal and signature, had been left by Omdut ul Omrah, we desired that it might be produced. Nejeeb Khan, who directed the conversation, made the usual objections, founded on the recency of the Nabob's death, on the necessity of allowing a sufficient interval of time for the ceremonies of the occasion, and on the decorum of postponing to open the will until the Heir appointed should be at liberty, in conformity to the usual practice, to attend to the transaction of public business. We replied, that the British Government was aware of the prevailing usages

APPENDIX B

observed by the professors of the Mahomedan religion on all ordinary occasions of this nature; that your Lordship could have no wish that those usages should be unnecessarily transgressed; but that the affairs of a great Government, on which our request was founded, could not be regulated by the ordinary practice of individual families. Having in consequence been informed that the Nabob had appointed his reputed Son (Tadjul Omrah, commonly called Ally Hussain) to be his sole Heir, we again urged the necessity of producing the will and requested that the young man should be introduced to us. The Khans having retired to consider this demand, we learnt during a desultory conversation with Mr. Barrett, that the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah had become acquainted with the intention of Hussam ul Mulk to employ an armed force at the Palace of Chepauk for the accomplishment of his views, at the expected termination of his Highness's life; that the measure of stationing a body of the Company's troops for the protection of the Family, had in consequence been entirely acceptable to his Highness, and (to use his own figurative expression) that the security, derived from that arrangement, had been the means of prolonging his Highness's life.

The Khans having been joined by Mr. Barrett, returned, assenting to our request; and, after a short delay, the young man was introduced with the will in his hand. The will having been opened and read by Kadir Nawas Khan, was found to be an authentic instrument, expressing in clear, distinct, and explicit terms, the will of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, that his reputed Son (Ally Hussain) should succeed him in the possession of all his rights, possessions, property, and in the sovereignty¹ of the Carnatic. The will also appointed Mahomed Nejeeb Khan, Salar Jang, and Tuckia Ally Khan, to assist the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah in the administration of his affairs.

(1) The English word 'sovereignty' is used in the will.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

The will having been read, we excused ourselves to Ally Hussain for an intrusion which, although unseasonable, was indispensably necessary; and he immediately retired, returning expressions of civility.

On the departure of Ally Hussain, we requested a private conference with the two Khans only, who had been appointed by the will of Omdut ul Omrah to assist the counsels of his son. After some preparatory observations on the importance of the subject, which we were desirous of discussing, and on the consequent necessity of superseding the ordinary forms observed in private families on similar occasions of misfortune, we proceeded, with the concurrence of the Khans, to state the nature of the written documents discovered at Seringapatam. Nejeeb Khan expressed the greatest degree of surprize at this communication, professed his entire ignorance of the subject, and protested that it was impossible for the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to cherish the intentions imputed to his Highness. Some of the principal documents having been produced, Nejeeb Khan asserted, that they contained none but expressions of civility and compliment; that the Marquis Cornwallis had repeatedly enjoined the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah to cultivate a friendly intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun; that the whole tendency of the correspondence produced was directed to that object in conformity to the injunctions of Lord Cornwallis, and that the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah had recently addressed himself to Lord Cornwallis on the subject of these communications: the particular warmth of the expressions used by Omdut ul Omrah, in his Letter addressed to Gholam Ally Khan on the 14th Mohurruum 1209, having been pointed out to Nejeeb Khan, he observed that it was nothing more than an expression of civility which might have been used on any ordinary occasion. The copy of the cypher having been produced, Nejeeb Khan took the opportunity of saying that the Moonshy of the Nabob was present, and could be examined with respect

APPENDIX B

to the authenticity of the hand-writing; that although the cypher appeared, as was stated by us, to be a paper of a very secret nature, calculated to provide for the transaction of affairs of great importance, it might have been conveyed into the archives of Tippoo Sultan by the enemies of Omdut ul Omrah; that, upon being furnished with the proofs of the supposed treacherous intercourse between Tippoo Sultan and the family of the Nabob Mahomed Ally, such explanations should be afforded, and such answers given, as the different cases might require, and that, the proofs being compared, the Company might form a complete judgment.

This discourse being apparently intended to confound the object of our deputation, we stated to the two Khans that in cases of disputed points between independent powers, neither party could erect itself into a judge of the conduct of the other party; that on those questions an appeal could be made only to the general practice of the Nations of the World; and that such differences could only be decided by the means possessed by each party respectively to provide for its own security; that with respect to the present case, the most abundant proofs were in possession of the British Government of the violation of the alliance between the Company and the late Nabob, and particularly of the express stipulations of the Treaty of 1792; that the British Government, being satisfied of the sufficiency of those proofs, had no intention of constituting itself a judge of the conduct of its Ally: but that being prepared to appeal, if necessary, to the established maxims of the public Law of Nations, it had resolved to demand from the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah satisfaction for his violation of the alliance, and security for its rights and interests against the future operation of his Highness's hostile councils; that the indisposition, which had terminated in the death of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, had prevented the execution of the Governor-General's orders for this purpose; that although his

Highness's right to the support and friendship of the Company had been entirely cut off by the violation of the alliance, the British Government being still desirous of preserving the connexion so long subsisting, would be disposed to extend those sentiments to the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah, if an adequate security could be established for the rights of the Company in the Carnatic through the channel of an amicable adjustment. The two Khans repeated, that they were ignorant of the existence of the supposed secret intercourse between the Nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah and Tippoo Sultan; and Nejeeb Khan in particular stated, that from the tenor of his intercourse with the Family of the Nabob, as well as from the expressions of the will, he did not consider himself at liberty, or in any way authorized to give answer upon so momentous a question, without consulting and obtaining the consent of the Family and Ministers of the late Nabob. We proceeded to explain slowly and distinctly to the two Khans the course of reasoning and the propositions contained in the Declaration transmitted from Bengal, which the Khans having heard with great attention, they stated that they distinctly comprehended the object of the Declaration and the force of the reasoning; they admitted the conclusions drawn from the facts, provided the facts should be true; but at the same time strenuously asserted their disbelief of the hostile intercourse with Tippoo Sultan, imputed to the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah. After a desultory conversation on this subject, in which the two Khans insisted on the reasonableness of their entering into the defence of Omdut ul Omrah's conduct in regard to the several points stated in the Declaration, and in which we repeated the arguments founded on the practice of Nations, and on the right of the British Government to provide for the safety of its interests, we endeavoured to reduce this very long conference into the result of a single proposition, by demanding to know whe-

ther the Khans, on the part of Ally Hussain, were disposed to an adjustment of the claims of the British Government through the channel of an amicable negotiation.—They professed the greatest degree of respect and attachment to the British Government; stated that they considered themselves and the whole Family to be under its immediate protection; dwelt on the general impossibility of their proceeding by any other than amicable means in the settlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, or of the existing differences with the British Government; but carefully avoided a direct answer to the proposition we had stated on that subject.—The day being far advanced, the Khans took an opportunity of urging the necessity of their attention to the funeral of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and to the preparations of removing the Corpse to Trichinopoly.—This plea was urged in so forcible a manner, upon the grounds of public decorum, and of consideration for the feelings of the Family, that we yielded without further discussion to the evident desire of the Khans to conclude the Conference, without giving a positive answer to our proposition.—It was agreed, however, that an interview should take place on the evening of the next day, at which the Khans assured us that they would be prepared to give a specific answer to our propositions, after consulting the Family and Ministers of the late Nabob upon the subject of this Conference.

In proceeding to take leave of the Khans, we assured them in the most unequivocal terms, that on the answer which they intended to give to our proposition would depend, whether the British Government would acknowledge the claims of the reputed son of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the support of the Company, or whether the British Government should proceed to take such measures as it might deem to be expedient for the security of its rights and interests in the Carnatic.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

Second Day's Conference.

16th July, 1801.

We proceeded to enquire whether the Khans were prepared (according to the result of the Conference of yesterday) to enter into a friendly Negotiation, for the establishment of an adequate security for the right and interest of the British Government. The Khans replied, that the whole Family of Omdut ul Omrah was under the protection of the British Government, and that it could feel none but friendly dispositions towards the Company; at the same time, however, they persisted in denying the proofs of the violation of the Alliance by Omdut ul Omrah, on the foundation of which the demand of the British Government rested, and by a strange inconsistency, proceeded to enquire the conditions on which we proposed to establish an amicable adjustment of our claims on the Family of the late Nabob.

We proceeded accordingly to state to the Khans the inconveniences which had been experienced from the effects of a divided Government; the difficulty of applying, under such a System, the Resources of the Carnatic to the exigencies of the public Service; and the impossibility of introducing a regular form of internal Government, until the defects of the existing System should be corrected. We then informed the Khans, that the only remedy applicable to the errors of the present Government of the Carnatic was, the substitution of one permanent authority, in lieu of the fluctuating authority which had hitherto subsisted; that the appropriation of the Resources of the Carnatic, during the Government of the Nabob, and under the pressure of actual War, had been found from experience to be incompatible with the objects of the Alliance; and therefore the only adequate security for the rights and interests of the British Government in the Carnatic, against the dangers with which they had been menaced, was the entire and exclusive Adminis-

tration of the Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic. We accordingly informed the Khans, that this condition would form the basis of the arrangement which it was our intention to propose to them. Nejeeb Khan observed, that such a proposition was calculated to frustrate the professed object of the arrangement; for if the entire Government of the Carnatic should be transferred to the Company, the station of the Nabobs of the Carnatic would be annihilated.—We replied to the Khans, that the condition now proposed actually existed in the Treaties of 1787 and 1792; and that although the entire Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic had been transferred, under the operation of that condition, to the exclusive Administration of the Company, no doubt was entertained that the rank and dignity of Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, as the Nabobs of the Carnatic, had been preserved: we therefore drew this conclusion, that the rank and dignity of the Nabob of the Carnatic could not be injured by extending the operation of that condition: and that the object of proposing an amicable adjustment, instead of proceeding to exercise the rights acquired by the British Government, was manifestly founded in the desire of preserving to the Family the rank, dignities, and splendour of the Nabobs of the Carnatic.—The Khans admitted this argument to be conclusive, but without coming to any determination on the fundamental proposition stated by us, appeared to be desirous of knowing the general outline of the arrangement, which it was in the contemplation of the British Government to establish. We thought it expedient to satisfy, by describing the principal parts of the Plan intended by your Lordship and by the Governor-General, in the event of an amicable adjustment of affairs: but we apprized the Khans at the same time, that the intended arrangements, with respect to the Family affairs and dependants of Omdut ul Omrah, would be regulated by the acceptance or rejection of the fundamental proposition;

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

for in the one case the British Government would be at liberty to consult the dictates of moderation, liberality, and friendship, but in the other case it would be compelled to adopt such measures of precaution, for the security of its rights and interests, as the hostile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah had justified, and as would be rendered necessary by the perseverance of his reputed son in the spirit of those Councils.

The Khans entered into a desultory conversation on the long subsisting connection between the Company and the Family of the late Nabob; in which they were more desirous of referring the pretensions of Ally Hussain to the stipulations of the Treaty of 1792, than to the actual circumstances which had occurred. We thought it therefore not unnecessary to state again, that the right of Omdut ul Omrah to the support of the Company, was founded on the express Letter of the Treaty of 1792; that the whole spirit of the Alliance having been vitiated previously to the ostensible conclusion of the Treaty of 1792, the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah had, by his own conduct, annihilated the rights intended to be conveyed to him by that instrument; that consequently he left his reputed son in his own condition; that having placed himself in the relation of a public enemy, his reputed son had succeeded to that condition: that although the British Government had suspended the exercise of its rights, it acknowledged no other claim on the part of Hussain, and that therefore, in admitting him to negotiate upon any Terms, it was actuated by motives of generosity, unconnected with any right in the Family of Mahomed Ally to resist its demand for security. The Khans made a civil answer to the substance of this communication, but at the same time indicated, in the strongest manner, that they were by no means disposed to accede to the fundamental proposition of the intended arrangement; they stated that it was a subject of so much importance, as to preclude them from giving an answer without a full consultation with all the branches of the Family; they

APPENDIX B

therefore requested that they might be permitted to postpone until the next day their final answer upon the subject of the two Conferences.

Third Day's Proceedings.

17th July, 1801.

Nejeeb Khan and Tuckia Ally Khan proceeded to inform us that the whole Family, and the Ministers of the late Nabob, had been assembled for the purpose of deliberating on the proposition stated by us on the preceding day; and that the result of their deliberation was a conviction in their own minds, that, notwithstanding the decided terms in which our proposition was communicated to them, the British Government would still be disposed to accept a modification of the terms required for its security in the Carnatic. They accordingly produced a contra project which they desired might be submitted to your Lordship's consideration.

We informed the Khans that we possessed full authority from your Lordship and from the Governor-General for rejecting, on the part of the British Government, any proposal inconsistent with the extent of the security already required, and that our proposition for vesting exclusively in the hands of the Company the entire Administration of the Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic, contained the basis on which alone the proposed arrangement could be founded. We reminded the Khans of the importance which they had, at an earlier stage of the Conferences, attached to the extent of this proposition, and of their considering their authority insufficient to decide so momentous a question. We warned them that the interpretation they were about to give to the will of Omdut ul Omrah, involved them in a heavy responsibility to his reputed son, which the terms of the Will itself did not justify;¹ and we

(1) All the authority conveyed by the Will to these Khāns is contained in the Persian word *Imdad*, which signifies literally *Assistance*.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

stated for their consideration, that whatever might be the result of these Conferences, the effect to be produced on their own interests could bear no comparison to the effect to be produced on those of Ally Hussain.

The Khans replied, that the subject of the evidence discovered at Seringapatam, had been agitated in the Durbar for more than twelve months; that measures had been taken for justifying the conduct of Omdut ul Omrah, which they asserted to be innocent of any treacherous intention towards the British Government; that our propositions, containing the fundamental basis of an amicable arrangement, had been fully discussed and debated; that they (the Khans) had fully considered the nature of the authority and of the responsibility which the Will of Omdut ul Omrah devolved on them; that they were prepared to give a decided answer on the proposition, and that the Paper delivered to us contained, finally and unequivocally, the only terms on which they could accede to our arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic by Negotiation.

Our endeavours to accomplish an amicable adjustment being thus defeated in limine by the formal rejection of your Lordship's fundamental propositions, we should have felt ourselves justified in bringing the Negotiation to an immediate conclusion; but knowing the earnest desire of your Lordship and of the Governor-General, to obtain the security required for the rights and interests of the British Government in the Carnatic by an amicable Negotiation, and considering the proposals of the Khans to be so extravagant as to be undeserving of serious attention, we judged it to be our duty not to exclude the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah from an opportunity of declaring his genuine sentiments upon a point of so much interest to himself, and of relieving himself from the effects of the infa-

(1) This contradicts, in the most direct terms, Nejeeb Khan's expressions of surprise on this subject in the first Conference.

APPENDIX B

tuated or treacherous Councils of his appointed advisers. We therefore informed the Khans, that in a question which appeared to relate exclusively to the interests of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah's reputed Son, we were desirous of receiving from himself a declaration, which would determine his future situation, either as the acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, or as a mere Dependant on the bounty of the Company. The extreme anxiety which the Khans discovered in attempting to evade this demand, confirmed in our judgment the expediency and necessity of persisting in it.

APPENDICES TO THE THIRD DAY'S CONFERENCE.

Translation of a Paper delivered by Neejeb Khan Behauder, Salar Jung, and Mahomed Tukia Aly Khan Behauder, to Mr. Webbe and Lieutenant Colonel Close, on the 5th day of Rubee ool aul 1216 of the Heygra.

Inasmuch as we are jointly employed on a business of trust, and are desirous of adhering to the Will of our late Lord and Master, we have accordingly considered with great attention the matters which have been stated on each side during our conversations; and although we do not remember, word by word, what has been urged by each party, we yet recollect the substance of what passed. You explained to us that Marquis Wellesley Behauder, had shewn himself displeased with the intention of the conduct of the late Nabob, in maintaining a correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, the late ruler of Mysore; and that in consequence the Son of the late Nabob, we mean our present benevolent and gracious Master, had forfeited his right to the protection of the Company. We cannot, Gentlemen, speak positively as to the writings alluded to, but from our knowledge of the temper, disposition, and sentiments of the late Nabob, we are impressed with a full assurance that he was incapable of acting contrary to his own dignity, and the engagements of his Alliance, which he ever respected; and

indeed we ourselves know that he never corresponded with any power in Hindostan, unless by means of the Company; and the Company were well acquainted with the correspondence which did take place, and which consisted only of Letters couched in warm expressions of congratulation or condolence. If, besides the correspondence of this description, any writings have come to light, containing the matters of which you have read to us a short abstract, we apprehended that they have originated with evil Persons, for the purpose of shaking the friendship and union so long established between the late Nabob and the Company. Nor do we believe that the Company, on mature consideration, can hold it to be true, that the late Nabob engaged in a correspondence contrary to their interests; and, advertng to the amicable and friendly behaviour observed by the Company till the last moments of the Nabob, the whole world will be impressed that they entertained no such suspicions; and with us it is matter of regret, that at a juncture when the Nabob is deprived of the means of justification, his reputation should be publicly injured. But, Gentlemen, without dwelling on these matters, we consider ourselves as being honoured with the office of Agent on the part of the present Heir, according to the Will of his illustrious Father; and we have to observe that you, Gentlemen, have seen that Will, and been made acquainted with the power which it has vested in Sahib Zadah, the present Heir. The said Heir, according to the law and rules which hold amongst us regarding succession, is found to inherit the whole of the rights and estate of his Father, and is in every respect the true hereditary successor of his Father. In his case he has specially derived protection from the Treaty of 1792 A.D. and we have held ourselves bound on his part by the said Treaty from the moment we entered on this great charge, namely, the care of the Person and Government of the said Heir. Gentlemen, without advertng to any of the contents of the above Treaty, you have, on

APPENDIX B

the part of the Governor-General Behauder, demanded of us, who are the Agents of the said Heir, either to deliver the Heir aforesaid and his Kingdom, entirely into the hands of the Governor-General, or to communicate our inclinations respecting such an arrangement as would be assented to by the Governor-General. We were happy, Gentlemen, that you did not insist on an immediate answer to your demand; as in the interval that has taken place, we have minutely considered your demands, as well as the trust that has been confided in us; and we apprehend, that when you made the said demand, the Treaty of 1792 A.D. was not in your contemplation, for the said Heir, successor of the late Nabob, is clearly included in the Treaty aforesaid. In this case the said Heir has become the protector of the agreements and stipulations of the Company contained in the said Treaty; and we are ready to abide in the fullest manner to every point that he has agreed to therein. We have not said that we were unwilling to agree to any Treaty *besides that above-mentioned*; on the contrary, we are prepared to hear any demands that may be proposed, and to exert ourselves to the extent of our ability for the purpose of adjusting them. We do not perceive much defect in the means long established by the Treaty, for promoting the security and union of both sides. In every event, if it can be modified for the interest of the Company, the aforesaid Heir will be happy at all times to attend to any wish that you may communicate; nor would we say that we should consider ourselves fortunate in being the means of adjusting so desirable an arrangement. We must infer, that you could scarcely hope that the demand, at which you hinted at the first meeting, and so clearly explained at the second, that it could not be misunderstood, would be accepted; as, Gentlemen, you well know that we, who are charged with the care of the Country, and the affairs of the Heir, have no authority to engage in such disaffection and faithlessness, as to deliver up unconditionally the whole rights

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

ard property of our Master, and commit him and his Family, in a state of want and subjection, to the Company. We cannot therefore comprehend the substance and meaning of your demand, more than that it occurs to us that you have proposed a heavy demand to us, in the first instance, under the idea, that it might be diminished at future Conferences; and that you might ascertain our sentiments touching a fresh agreement for renewing the friendship and union that has so long subsisted between the Company and the Nabob of the Carnatic.

Gentlemen, with the view to meet the just wishes of the Company, we have considered the objects and advantages which were often mentioned to the late Nabob, and we have resolved to act in conformity to them to the extent of our ability, and regarding them as the best foundations for an arrangement, we now present a separate Paper, containing a few correspondent propositions; and in the event of their being approved, they may be easily inserted in the Treaty of 1792 A.D., the happy effects of which have been witnessed by the Company and by us. We hope that in these propositions we have strongly demonstrated the will of the Heir, as well as ours, to promote the true interest of the Company, without entirely sacrificing the rights of the Heir, which are committed to our care; and we trust that, considering what we have stated above, our motive for bringing forward the propositions alluded to, must be clear beyond the possibility of doubt. Adverting to the responsibility we sustain, from the great affairs and interests in which we are engaged, we have to request that you will deliver to us in writing, any demands you may wish to state in reply, in order that we may be free from any imputations hereafter. We are confident that you will consider the delicate circumstances which have led us to this request, and allow them to plead our excuse.

(Signed) MAHOMED NEJEEB KHAN,
SALAR JUNG,
MAHOMED TUCKIA ALLY KHAN BEHAUDER.

APPENDIX B

Translation of propositions from the heir

Article I.—He cedes to the Company sovereign authority over the Poligars; but the Company shall give credit for two lacks sixty thousand seven hundred and four star pagodas, on account of the Poligar Peishcush, in the kists of the nine lacks payable each year.

Article II.—The Heir grants full authority to the Company to collect the Revenues, etc., of the following districts:—The Revenues of these districts are detailed below, but they amount to more, *viz*:—

Tinnivelly	..	4,06,508 S. Pagodas.
Madura	..	64,945.
Ongole	..	13,534.
Palnad	..	24,657.

The amount of these two Articles, including the Poligar Peishcush, is 8,54,848 S. Pagodas; and this sum being deducted from the 9 lacks payable each year, leaves a balance of 45,152 star pagodas.

Article III.—The sum of 45, 152 star pagodas, which is the balance of the nine lacks allotted to defray the expence for the defence of the Carnatic, and the sum of 6,21,105 star pagodas, which is allotted to discharge the debts of the Nabob Walajah, according to the Treaty, will be paid to the Company yearly by the Heir; and shall be discharged in ten equal kists, from the 1st to the 15th of each month, from the beginning of September to the month of June; and on the debts of the Nabob Walajah being discharged, the payment of the sum of 6,21,105 star pagodas shall cease, and the sum of 45,152 star pagodas only, shall continue to be paid yearly agreeably to the stipulations of 1792; and the whole of the contents of this Paper shall be considered as referring to the said Treaty.

Article IV.—After the discharge of the above debts, the Heir shall liquidate the new Cavalry loan, and he will not only acknowledge that debt, but also the interest due on it.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

Article V.—In the event of failure, in the payment of the kists stipulated in the 3rd Article, then those parts of the Treaty of 1792 shall be carried into effect, which relate to the districts detailed in Schedule No. 2 of the said Treaty, and which, according to the 2nd Article of this Paper, have not been transferred; and with the exception of the matters modified as above, the whole of the Articles of the Treaty of 1792 shall continue in full force.

The Heir, out of his regard and friendship for the Company, will make over to the Company, as an act of favour, the whole of his rights touching the Pearl Fishery.

Proceedings of the Fourth Day's Conference of Messrs. Webbe and Close, July 18th.—Having personally communicated to your Lordship our suspicion, founded on the anxiety of the two Khans to prevent our interview with the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, that their conduct might not be conformable to the wishes and intentions of that person, your Lordship authorized and instructed us to communicate to Mr. Fitzgerald (the confidential Physician of the late Nabob) who had personal access to his Highness's reputed Son, the actual existence of the Governor-General's orders, and your Lordship's positive determination to execute those orders, for the purpose of obtaining an adequate security for the rights and interests of the British Government in the Carnatic. Such parts of the Governor-General's orders as were sufficient to remove all doubt on this subject, were accordingly communicated to Mr. Fitzgerald, from his Excellency's original Dispatches. It being necessary, in conformity to this intention, that further time should be allowed for the operation of this in direct communication, the interview appointed for to-day was postponed; and reason exists for believing that (as far as the opinion of Mr. Fitzgerald was allowed to have effect) the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah, as well as his two advisers, Nejeeb Khan and Tuckia Ally Khan, were, in the course of this day, apprized

APPENDIX B

ed of the actual circumstances in which they stood, through the channel of a confidential person, who could have no interest in augmenting the appearance of the danger, which actually menaced the immediate interests of Ally Hussain.

Although this transaction forms no part of our public Negotiation, we have judged it to be proper to include it in the official Report of this day. It will demonstrate that no care was omitted, which could conciliate the mind of Ally Hussain, and of his appointed advisers.

5th Day, July 19th, 1801.—We proceeded about noon to the place. We enquired whether a further consideration of the subject of our Conferences had created in the minds of the two Khans any alteration of their sentiments delivered at the late interview? They replied, without hesitation, that it was not the intention of Ally Hussain to recede from the terms communicated to us in a written Paper at the last interview: we then stated our belief, that under that declaration they were prepared for the serious consequences of the alternative, frequently described to them. The Khans replied, with much apparent composure and resolution, that they were prepared to meet those consequences, on their responsibility, under a perfect reliance on the protection of the Company, and on its adherence to the existing engagements. We reminded the Khans, that it was useless to recur to the stipulations of the Treaty of 1792, the vital spirit of which had been annihilated, and that the violation of Omdut-ul-Omrah's engagement had constituted the right of the Company to demand the security now required.

The reputed Son of Omdut-ul-Omrah being, at our desire, introduced according to the former appointment, we excused our intrusion, on his grief, by explaining our unwillingness to receive from any person but himself the final rejection of a proposition, made with great indulgence to him, on the part of the British Government, and involving consequences of the

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

greatest importance to his immediate interests. We then stated, in a succinct manner, the nature of that proposition, with the conclusive rejection of it by his appointed advisers; and expressed our desire of knowing whether the motives of the Khans for thus rejecting, at such hazard to his welfare, the friendship of the Company, were conformable to his own sentiments and resolution. He replied (the Khans being present) that he considered them to have been appointed by his Father for the purpose of assisting him; and that the object of his own councils was not separate from that of the Khans.

According to the plan previously arranged by your Lordship for this probable event, we made known, without farther delay, your Lordship's intention of holding a personal Conference with Ally Hussain (previously to the final adoption of the measures then in your Lordship's contemplation). This communication was unexpected, and the Khans endeavoured to evade it by repeating the excuses they had used at the former interview; but, being assured that your Lordship's orders in this respect admitted of no excuse, the Khans retired at the same time for the purpose of preparing the equipage of Ally Hussain. During this short interval, the young man, with much apparent anxiety in his manner, whispered in a low tone of voice, that he had been deceived by the two Khans. Ally Hussain accordingly proceeded, without farther communication with the two Khans, to the tent of the officer commanding the troops at Chepauk, at which place we had the honour of a personal interview with your Lordship.

After the first ceremonies of the meeting had subsided the attendants of Ally Hussain, including Nejeeb Khan and Tuckia Ally Khan, were directed to withdraw and the tent was rendered entirely private. Before your Lordship's intention in this interview could be entirely explained, Ally Hussain interrupted the conversation by expressing his sense of his Lord-

APPENDIX B

ship's consideration. He then proceeded to state, of his own accord, that the Conferences had been conducted by the two Khans without his participation in their councils; and that he disapproved the termination which had in consequence been given to the Negotiation.

In consequence of this avowal, the entire substance of the Conferences was recapitulated to Ally Hussain, the nature of the proofs of the violation of the Alliance was distinctly described, and the extent of the security required by the British Government concisely explained. Ally Hussain, after stating that he comprehended the whole of this important question, declared himself ready to conclude an arrangement with the British Government on the basis of the proposition communicated by us to the two Khans. He then proceeded to make enquiry into the secondary branches of the arrangement in your Lordship's contemplation, particularly with respect to the provision for his personal expenses, and to the extent of his power over the public treasure of his Father, which he considered to be large. After a desultory conversation of some length, interrupted by the importunity of Nejeeb Khan, Ally Hussain proposed that a Treaty should be prepared by us, upon the basis of vesting the entire Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic in the hands of the Company; and stated, that he would be ready to execute the instrument, with or without the consent of the Khans, at another separate Conference, which was appointed for the next day, within the lines of the British troops.

6th Day, July 20th, 1801—According to the appointment of yesterday, we proceeded to the Palace of Chepauk; and Ally Hussain having been introduced to us, said, in a resolute tone of voice, and with more apparent firmness in his manner than we had before observed, that the two Khans had been appointed by his Father's Will to assist his councils; that he could not adopt a line of conduct inconsistent with their advice; and that

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

therefore any farther interview with your Lordship was unnecessary.

These expressions we attributed to Ally Hussain's desire of concealing his real sentiments in the presence of the Khans; and proceeded to state, that the Conference of yesterday having been interrupted by the importunity of Nejeeb Khan, your Lordship was resolved to bring it to a termination at the interview appointed for this day. We accordingly attended Ally Hussain to the tent, which having been again rendered entirely private, the young man stated, in the same tone of confidence, that this interview was unnecessary, as it was impossible for him to deviate from the sentiments already expressed by the two Khans. This unexpected change of sentiments in the mind of Ally Hussain having excited some surprize, your Lordship desired that he should explain himself more distinctly. In reply he stated that he was aware the sentiments now expressed by him differed entirely from those expressed on the preceding day; that the truth was, he had seriously reflected on the subject of yesterday's Conference; that the whole Family had been assembled to deliberate on the state of his affairs; that he had in consequence given a better consideration to the actual circumstances in which he was placed; that he retracted the opinion communicated to your Lordship yesterday; and that he considered it to be totally incompatible with his interests and honour to accede to the proposition, on the basis of which he had agreed to conclude the Treaty.

We reminded him, by your Lordship's direction, of the deception stated by himself to have been used by the Khans, and expressed our confidence that, notwithstanding this unaccountable change of his ostensible manner, the genuine sentiments of his mind were expressed at the Conference of yesterday.—He said, that this was not the case; that he had spoken at that time from an hasty impression; but that the sentiments, which he now declared, were the result of serious

APPENDIX B

reflection, and of a conviction on his mind, that by pursuing this line of conduct he should adhere to the intention of his Father and to the real interests of his Family. We stated in reply, that he deceived himself, if he encouraged any expectation of securing the interests of his Family on any other basis than that of an amicable adjustment, for the alternative choice was either to become the acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, or one of many pensioners dependent on the bounty of the Company; that the choice, which he now appeared to have made, was so inconsistent with prudence, as to justify our considering him to act under some improper restraint.—We proceeded therefore to explain, that he was now actually within the British encampment; and that if he apprehended any consequences of personal danger or inconvenience from the pursuit of the genuine wishes of his heart, your Lordship would immediately secure him against any insults he might apprehend, by keeping him under the protection of the Company's forces. He replied, that he acted from no impression of that description; but that the sentiments, which he now expressed contained the genuine feelings of his heart.

We expressed your Lordship's and our own suspicions, that he had been encouraged by interested persons to disbelieve the existence of the orders from the Governor-General, under the authority of which the fundamental proposition of the Negotiations had been stated to him, and we enquired whether he had received, from Mr. Fitzgerald, any communication on that subject. Ally Hussain answered, that Mr. Fitzgerald had spoken to him on the subject; and that his determination was not governed by any distrust of our communications relative to the orders of the Governor-General. We explained our allusion to the advice of interested persons, by stating, that those who held tuncaws or other claims on the Carnatic were deeply interested in persuading him to resist an amicable Negotiation; because in the event of an amicable adjustment

for vesting the Civil Government in the hands of the Company, they could have no hope of recovering those claims; whereas those hopes would still be cherished as long as he should be persuaded to keep the affairs of the Carnatic in an unsettled state. We further stated, that the principles of persons of that description encouraged every expectation that they would be desirous of sacrificing the permanent interests and honour of his Family, to the attainment of their immediate advantage: we added, that such persons, as well as the general body of his father's creditors, would feel an interest in persuading him to reject the proposition now offered to him, and to cherish a belief that the measures of this Government would be disapproved by the Court of Directors, and that the arrangement, which he might compel your Lordship to adopt, would be reversed. We warned Ally Hussain of the effects of such a fallacy, by assuring him that the orders of the Governor-General were founded on a previous communication with the Court of Directors, and with His Majesty's Ministers; and on a knowledge that the sentiments of the Government at home concurred entirely with those entertained by his Excellency and by your Lordship, relative to the violation of the Alliance.

We were the more earnest in urging this point, with your Lordship's permission, on the attention of Ally Hussain; because the Project, delivered to us at the third Conference by the two Khans, contains manifest proof of having been translated from an European language; and because it is equally manifest, from the tenor of that Paper, that the author of it was interested in excluding the Executive Government in India from participating in the administration of the funds, now allotted by Treaty to the liquidation of the consolidated debts of the Nabob Mahomed Ally.

Ally Hussain denied that he acted from any motives derived from the persuasion of others, and repeated that his choice was now founded on his determination to adhere to the councils of the Khans, appointed by his Father's Will to assist him, and

APPENDIX B

finally to reject the arrangement which had been proposed to him. We enquired whether he clearly understood the consequences of that determination with respect to himself; he said, that it had been clearly explained to him; but that, notwithstanding the explanation, he assured himself of the favour and protection of the Company, as well as of your Lordship's paternal care. In proceeding to conclude the Conference, your Lordship desired Ally Hussain to prepare himself to receive your Lordship's final and most serious resolution. It was then explained to him, that no pains had been omitted, which could warn him of the consequences he was about to incur; that the duties of humanity towards him, and the duties of attention to the national character of the British Government, had been satisfied; that he had himself determined the situation in which he would hereafter be placed, and that your Lordship, with concern for himself individually, now apprised him, that his future situation would be that of a private person, hostile to the British interests, and dependent on the bounty of the Company.

This declaration Ally Hussain received with a degree of composure and confidence, which denoted that he acted from no impression of fear; and a smile of complacency, which appeared on his countenance throughout this discussion, denoted an internal satisfaction at the line of conduct he was pursuing. Being asked if he wished to make any further observation, he said that he did not; and being also asked whether he had any objection to the introduction of the Khans into the tent, he said that he had none; which being accordingly done, he was directed by your Lordship to leave the tent.

Proceedings of the 7th day, July 21st.—Your Lordship having communicated to us your intention to open, if possible, a negotiation with the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah; endeavours were accordingly used to establish a communication with him, but it was found that so strict a watch had been established

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

over him by the adherents of Omdut ul Omrah that no means appeared to be practicable for opening a private communication with him; while any attempt to effect it by open means appeared liable to the serious objection of precipitating the fate of the young Prince.

Proceedings of the 8th day, July 22nd.—In this situation of things it was reported to your Lordship, by the Officer commanding the troops at Chepauk, that Nejeeb Khan and Tuckia Ally Khan had already performed the ceremony of installing Ally Hussain in a private manner on the Musnud of Arcot; and that they had resolved to instal him in a public manner on the following day.

Your Lordship resolved to prevent a measure calculated to produce immediate commotion in the provinces of the Carnatic; for that purpose Lieutenant Colonel Mac Neil was directed to take entire possession of the Palace of Chepauk with the British troops; and to remove entirely all the guards of the late Omdut ul Omrah, who had been permitted to remain at their posts during the late Negotiations. This measure established the immediate means of relieving Azeem ul Dowlah; and a party of the Company's troops was substituted at the hovel in which that Prince was confined, in lieu of the guards stationed over it by the adherents of Omdut ul Omrah.

As soon as the first surprise of the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah permitted him to receive an explanation, that the guard was intended for his greater security and protection, he expressed his satisfaction at the change, together with the desire of being permitted to explain his situation.

Proceedings of the 9th day, July 23rd.—On the morning of this day Lieutenant Colonel Mac Neil waited upon the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah, for the ostensible purpose of excusing and explaining to him the cause of stationing a party of the Company's troops over the place in which he resided. Lieutenant Colonel Mac Neil took this opportunity of inform-

APPENDIX B

ing the Prince, that if he should have any desire of representing the state of his affairs to the British Government, the means of doing so without danger had now been opened to him.

In consequence of this communication, a time was appointed by your Lordship's directions for our meeting the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah. At the interview which ensued, the conversation on the part of the Prince was confined to a statement of the injuries which he had sustained, and of the hardships he continued to sustain, from the depression of his fortune, and from the poverty of his circumstances. He requested, with much earnestness, that his case might be considered in the general arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, and appeared to limit his expectation to a more comfortable domestic arrangement for his Family. Sufficient grounds however appeared, in the course of the conversation, to satisfy our judgment, that the Prince was capable of sustaining a more important character, and that his sense of his own immediate interests would dispose him to meet with cordiality any overture on the part of the British Government for reviving, in his person, the Alliance so long subsisting between the Company and his Family.

The conversation ended with an assurance on our part of your Lordship's immediate attention to Azeem ul Dowlah's difficulties, and to the provision of a more suitable accommodation for his Family.

Proceedings of the 10th day, July 24th.—An interview having been appointed for communicating to the Prince this day the result of your Lordship's consideration of his case, we met him at an early hour in the tent of Lieutenant Colonel Mac Neil.—The conversation was opened by some distant observations of the state in which the affairs of the Carnatic had been placed by the death of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah; and the remarks of the Prince continuing in our judgment, to be favourable to the impression we had received of his understanding and disposition, we proceeded to explain to him the actual situation in which the

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

whole House of Mahomed Ally had been placed, in consequence of the violation of the Alliance by that Prince, and by his successor, Omdut ul Omrah. The curiosity of the Prince being naturally excited by this conversation, connected with his previous knowledge of the manner in which the Conferences with Ally Hussain had terminated, we proceeded to disclose to the Prince the nature of the rights acquired by the Company; the indispensable necessity of exercising those rights for the establishment of an adequate security for our interests in the Carnatic; and the great reluctance with which the British Government would feel itself compelled to use its power for the attainment of that object, which could not fail of producing the entire humiliation of the House of Mahomed Ally.

A long desultory conversation ensued on the different points of this question, the substance of which has been stated in an earlier passage of this Report, and it ended in a declaration of the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah of his acknowledgment of the right acquired by the Company under the discovery made at Seringapatam; and of his readiness to afford, in the event of his elevation to the Musnud, that satisfaction and security, which your Lordship and the Governor-General had deemed to be necessary to the preservation of our interests in the Carnatic.

Having accordingly described to the Prince the entire outline of the arrangement proposed for the settlement of the affairs of the Carnatic, on the basis of this proposition, it was agreed that the arrangement should be prepared in the form of a treaty, to be discussed at an interview appointed for the next day.

Proceedings of the 11th day, July 25th.—Having accordingly prepared the draft of the treaty, we proceeded to the tent, for the purpose of discussing with the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah the general principles, and the particular articles of the agreement proposed by your Lordship.

APPENDIX B

The Prince having acceded to the fundamental Articles, in conformity to his acknowledgment of the preceding day, directed his attention to that article which stipulates, that a fund shall be appropriated for the expense of maintaining the family of the Nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah; he stated, that although it could not be incumbent on him to interrupt on this account an arrangement so beneficial to the different branches of the Family, and to himself in particular; he yet felt it to be intimately connected with his reputation and honour to urge their situation upon your Lordship's most indulgent consideration. We explained, in consequence, to Azeem ul Dowlah, that the motives of the British Government for entering into any discussion for the purpose of establishing an amicable adjustment, could be founded on no other wish than that of preserving the family from that state of degradation, into which it was about to have been precipitated, by the faithless conduct and by the perverse spirit of the councils of its principal Members; and we reminded the Prince, that in making him the instrument of re-establishing the Alliance it was necessary to furnish him with the most powerful means of securing the attachment of the family, by rendering the amount of the stipends or jaghirs to be allotted for its support dependent on the pleasure of the British Government; which communication with his Highness would proceed to apportion the amount to be appropriated for this purpose, according to the merits of the individuals concerned.

In discussing that part of the treaty which stipulates the acknowledgment of the debts due by his ancestors to the Company, the Prince expressed his sense of the reasonableness of that stipulation; but stated distinctly and repeatedly that he did not consider himself involved by that Article in any personal responsibility for the amount of these or of any other debts. We expressed our entire concurrence in his Highness's interpretation of the Article; and a Clause was added to the Article, for the express purpose of obviating any doubt on this point.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

The remaining clauses of the proposed Treaty having been discussed and assented to, the Prince affixed his signature to a Persian draft of the proposed Treaty binding himself to execute a more formal instrument at the period of his intended installation.

In concluding our Report of this Conference, we cannot omit to state to your Lordship the impression made on our minds by the decorous deportment, moderation, and good sense by which Azeem ul Dowlah distinguished himself upon this sudden elevation from a state of penury and wretchedness to the possession of princely magnificence, honours, and rank.

Proceedings of the 12th Day, July 26th.—This morning we had the satisfaction of presenting his Highness the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah in a formal manner to your Lordship and of subsequently conducting him as the ostensible future Nabob of the Carnatic, to the Ameer Baugh, the residence of his Highness' father, the late Ameer ul Omrah.

(A true copy.)

(Signed) J. WEBBE,
Chief Secretary of Government.

CLOSE.

Copy of extracts from the letter of His Excellency Lord Clive to His Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, K. P. &c. &c. &c., dated Fort St. George, 27th July, 1801.

My Lord,

(1) In my Dispatch of the 15th instant, I had the honour of communicating to your Lordship my intention of endeavouring to effect an arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic through the channel of negotiation.

(2) I have considered that to be a mode of adjustment so preferable to the exercise of the rights of the British Govern-

ment, by the assertion of its power, that I judged it to be advisable, in my verbal instructions to the Deputies, to provide, that their unceasing attention should be directed to the accomplishment of that object. The Conferences opened in consequence, were conducted in a manner entirely conformable to this principle. The Khans, appointed by the Will of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah for the aid of his reputed Son, were apprised by Mr. Webbe and Lieutenant Colonel Close of the positive grounds of right, on which it was the determination of the British Government to obtain security for its interests in the Carnatic; at the same time every argument of conciliation and persuasion was urged by the Deputies, founded on the long-established connection between the Company and the Family of the Nabob Walajah; on the humiliating consequences of publishing to the world the evidence of the hostile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah, discovered at Seringapatam; and on the different degrees of dignity, splendour, and comfort which would attach to the reputed Son of that Prince under circumstances of friendly accommodation, or of hostile resistance to the demand of security on the part of the British Government.

(3) The negotiation was interrupted at its earliest stage by a refusal on the part of the Khans, appointed to assist the Son of Omdut ul Omrah, to acquiesce in the demand contained in the fundamental proposition of the deputies for territorial security, to the extent of vesting the Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic exclusively in the hands of the British Government. To this demand the Khans opposed an uniform resistance; and the Deputies would have been justified in bringing the negotiation to a conclusion on this point of difference. Reason however existed for believing, that their conduct was not conformable to the sentiments of the young man; it was consistent with the motive for proceeding by negotiation, that every practicable degree of facility should be given to that plan of arrangement. An opportunity was therefore offered to Ally

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

Hussain, of declaring his genuine sentiments; and accordingly, in a separate conversation with myself, he distinctly stated that he had not participated in the councils of his assistants.

(4) In consequence of this declaration, it was my intention to have relieved the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah from the situation in which he appeared to have been placed by the conduct of his Father's confidential Ministers. A second meeting was accordingly appointed for the purpose of completing the arrangement necessary to the acknowledgment of Ally Hussain's title, and for the establishment of territorial security for the rights of the Company. At this subsequent Conference, which was also conducted without the presence of his assistants, Ally Hussain retracted his declaration of the preceding day; he expressed his unequivocal concurrence in the sentiments of the Khans, together with his resolution not to depart from the result of their councils; and declared his resolution to meet, at whatever hazard, the consequences of refusing this reasonable demand of security on the part of the British Government.

(5) Having exhausted all the means in my power of impressing on the mind of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah's Son, a just sense of the right acquired by the Company under the violation of the alliance, or of the determination of the British Government to exercise that right for the attainment of an adequate security, I was reluctantly compelled to discontinue all further communication with the immediate Family of Omdut ul Omrah.

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(10) The attainment of an adequate security by means of negotiation from the immediate Family of Omdut ul Omrah, has been rendered impracticable, under the letter of your Lordship's last instructions, by Ally Hussain's rejection of the fundamental proposition for that purpose; but the spirit of your Lordship's provisional orders, under date the 26th of March, 1800, is still applicable to the actual circumstances in

which the affairs of the Carnatic have now been placed. Considerations, independent of those connected with our external relations, are suggested by the state of our domestic affairs; the rebellion in the Southern Provinces has assumed a more formidable aspect than could have been expected; and although the force assembled is, I trust, sufficient for the suppression of it, the movement of troops required for that purpose has unavoidably so reduced the appointed force of the Provinces, as to render extremely inconvenient any measure calculated to augment the number of disaffected persons. During the recent negotiations, circumstances have occurred which establish my belief of the existence of a very considerable treasure in the possession of the Family of the late Nabob and it is of great importance that so pregnant a source of mischief should not now be thrown into a scale adverse to our interests.

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(12) On a review of all these circumstances and considerations, I have judged the principles of your Lordship's orders to remain in full force, although the mode of applying them has failed with respect to the supposed Son of Omdut ul Omrah; but every consideration of our general policy, of expediency with respect to our external relations, and of prudence with regard to our internal tranquillity, requires, in my judgment, that the actual establishment of our security on the basis of right to exercise the entire Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic, should be accompanied by the gracious and conciliatory measure of establishing a branch of the House of Mahomed Ally in a degree of rank and splendour, suited to its long subsisting connection with the Company, and consistent with the actual circumstances of the Carnatic.

(13) I have already apprised your Lordship by my private Dispatches, that, under the impression of these sentiments, I had directed my attention to the situation of Azeem ul Dowlah, the only son of the late Ameer ul Omrah, and that in

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

determining to advance him eventually to the Soubahdarry of Arcot, I had considered myself at liberty to extend to the present situation of the affairs of the Carnatic, the provisional instructions contained in your Lordship's Dispatch of the 26th of March, 1800. Having adopted, in consequence of this intention, the necessary measures of precaution for removing the restraint imposed during a long period of time, by the Family of Omdut ul Omrah, on the person of Azeem ul Dowlah, I directed Mr. Webbe and Lieutenant Colonel Close to open a negotiation with that Prince, upon the grounds of the rights acquired by the Company, from the violation of the Alliance on the part of his Family; and upon the wish of the British Government to avoid, as far as might be consistent with its actual security, the humiliation of this ancient and illustrious House.

(14) I have the honour of acquainting your Lordship, that the negotiation has been brought to a successful determination, and I enclose the draft of a Treaty¹ which Azim ul Omrah has bound himself to execute in a more formal manner, as soon as circumstances may be sufficiently advanced to admit the execution of a public instrument.

(15) In providing a suitable maintenance for the successor of Omdut ul Omrah, I have thought it more advisable to render the amount dependant on the general prosperity of the country than to fix an unconditional stipend for the support of his dignity; this mode of arrangement, while it cannot encroach upon our security, is calculated to qualify the entire transfer of the Civil Government of the Carnatic to the hands of the British, with the preservation of an active principle for securing an union of interests between the Nabob of the Carnatic and the Company in the administration of the affairs of the country; and this mode possesses the farther recommendation of relieving

(1) *Vide* copy of Treaty transmitted in the dispatch from the Governor-in-Council of *Port St. George*, dated 31st July, 1801.

APPENDIX B

the provision for the maintenance of the Nabob from the appearance of a mere pension. On the same grounds of reasoning, I have judged it expedient to secure the income of the Nabob from the effects of any considerable failure in the Revenue of the Carnatic. On the principle adopted, I expect that the income of the Nabob will not much exceed two lacks of pagodas, and the future augmented income will probably never exceed the sum of three lacks of pagodas.

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(Signed) CLIVE.

Copy of a Declaration of the Governor of Fort St. George, dated 31st July, 1801.

Declaration of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George, by and with the Authority of his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council of all the British Possessions in the East Indies.

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In the full enjoyment of the most abundant proofs of the moderation, indulgence, and good faith of the Honourable Company, the Nabob Mahomed Ally and the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, actually commenced and maintained a secret intercourse with Tippoo Suldaun, the determined enemy of the British Name, founded on principles and directed to objects utterly subversive of the Alliance between the Nabob of the Carnatic and the Company, and equally incompatible with the security of the British Power in the Peninsula of India.

After the fall of Seringapatam, the British Government obtained possession of the original records of Tippoo Suldaun; the correspondence of that Prince's Ambassadors, during the residence at *Fort St. George* in attendance on his Sons the hostage Princes, in the years 1792 and 1793, established sufficient ground of apprehension, that their Highnesses the late Nabob Mahomed Ally and the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, had

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

entered into a secret intercourse with the late Tippoo Sultaun of a nature hostile to the British interests in India. The enquiries of the British Government have been since directed to ascertain a fact so intimately connected with the security of its rights in the Carnatic. The result has established the following propositions by a series of connected written and oral testimony.

First.—At the very period of time when the Nabob Mahomed Ally appealed to the generosity of the British Government for an indulgent modification of the Treaty of 1787, his Highness had already commenced a secret negotiation for the establishment of an intimate intercourse with the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun, without the knowledge of the British Government, and for purposes evidently repugnant to its security and honour.

Second.—The Nabob Omdut ul Omrah (who was empowered by the Nabob Mahomed Ally to negotiate the Treaty of 1792 with the British Government, and who actually negotiated that Treaty for himself and for his Father) was actually employed at the same period of time, under his father's authority, in negotiating for himself and for his father the terms of the said separate and secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun.

Third.—The tendency of the said intercourse was directed to the support of Tippoo Sultaun in victory and triumph over all his enemies.

Fourth.—In the month of December, 1792, the Nabob Mahomed Ally imparted secret information to Tippoo Sultaun, regarding the sentiments and intentions of the British Government in India, with relation to the hostile views and negotiation of Tippoo Sultaun at the Courts of Poona and Hyderabad; and on the first intelligence of the War between Great Britain and France in the year 1793, the Nabob Mahomed Ally imparted secret information to Tippoo Sultaun respecting the views and power of France in India and in Europe, and respecting the intended operations of the British forces against the French

possessions in the Carnatic. And the Nabob Mahomed Ally conveyed to Tippoo Sultaun secret admonitions and friendly advice respecting the most favourable season, and the most propitious state of circumstances, for the violation of Tippoo Sultaun's engagements with the Honourable Company.

Fifth.—The Nabob Omdut ul Omrah was employed by his Father or one of the Agents to convey secret intelligence, friendly admonition, and seasonable advice to Tippoo Sultaun, through the confidential agents of Tippoo Sultaun, who were furnished with instructions from the said Sultaun of Mysore, to receive such communications from the said Nabob of the Carnatic, and from the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

Sixth.—A cypher was composed and actually introduced into the separate and secret correspondence between the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Tippoo Sultaun; the original key of the said cypher, discovered among the records of Seringapatam is in the handwriting of the confidential Moonshee (or Secretary) of the Nabob Mahomed Ally and of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah; and the said cypher was delivered by a confidential agent of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to the Ambassador of Tippoo Sultaun, for the express purpose of being transmitted to Tippoo Sultaun.

Seventh.—The terms employed in the said cypher, particularly those intended to designate the British Government and its Allies, the Nizam and the Mahratta State, united in a defensive league against Tippoo Sultaun, contain the most powerful internal evidence that the communications proposed to be disguised by the said cypher, were of the most hostile tendency to the interests and objects of the said Alliance, and calculated to promote the cause of Tippoo Sultaun in opposition to that of the said Allies.

Eighth.—The Nabob Omdut ul Omrah under his own handwriting, in the month of August, 1794, corroborated the evidence of his intention to complete the purposes herein

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

described, of the secret intercourse which he had negotiated with Tippoo Sultaun; and the continuance of the same intention is manifested by Letter from the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and from his confidential agent, addressed to the supposed agent of Tippoo Sultaun in the year 1796, subsequently to the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah's accession to the Government of the Carnatic under the Treaty of 1792.

Ninth.—At the commencement and during the progress of the late just, necessary, and glorious War with the late Tippoo Sultaun, the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, to the utmost extent of his means and power, pursued the objects of his secret intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun, by a systematic course of deception, with respect to the provision of the funds necessary to enable the British troops to march into Mysore, as well as by a systematic and active opposition to the supply and movement of the allied Army through different parts of the said Nabob's dominions.

Tenth.—The stipulations contained in the 15th Article of the Treaty of 1787, and the 10th Article of the Treaty of 1792, by which the Nabobs of the Carnatic were bound not to enter into any political negotiations or correspondence with any European or Native Power or State, without the consent of the Government of Fort St. George, or of the Company, formed a fundamental condition of the Alliance between the said Nabob and the Company; and the violation of the said stipulations necessarily involved the entire forfeiture, on the part of the Nabob, of all the benefits of the said Alliance.

Eleventh.—The Nabob Mahomed Ally and the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah have violated the said stipulations, and have thereby forfeited all the benefits of the said Alliance; and the Nabob Mahomed Ally and the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah having violated the said stipulations for the express purpose of establishing an union of interests with Tippoo Sultaun, thereby placed themselves in the condition of public enemies to the British Government in India.

APPENDIX B

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Whatever claim to the Company's protection and support the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah may derive from his supposed father, had been utterly destroyed by the hostile conduct of Omdut ul Omrah; it follows, therefore, that the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah has succeeded to the condition of his Father, which condition was that of a public enemy; and consequently that at the death of Omdut ul Omrah, the British Government remained at liberty to exercise its rights, founded on the faithless policy of its Ally, in whatever manner might be deemed most conducive to the immediate safety and to the general interests of the Company in the Carnatic.

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The reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah, by and with the advice of the persons appointed by his Father's Will to assist his Councils, has persisted in opposing a determined resistance to this demand, thereby exhibiting an unequivocal proof that the spirit which actuated the hostile councils of the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, has been transmitted with unabated vigour to the supposed Son of Omdut ul Omrah, secured in its operation under the sanctimonious forms of their testamentary injunctions, and preserved with religious attachment by the ostensible descendant of that Prince.

Frustrated in the hope of obtaining from the reputed Son of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, reparation for its injuries and security for its rights, the British Government is now reluctantly compelled to publish to the world the proofs of this flagrant violation of the most sacred ties of Amity and Alliance, by the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, and the hereditary spirit of enmity manifested by the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah to the interests of the British Government. The duty and necessity of self-defence require the British Government, under the circumstances of this case, to exercise its power in the attainment of an adequate security for its rights; justice and moderation warrant, that the family of

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

Omdut ul Omrah shall be deprived of the means of completing its systematic course of hostility; wisdom and prudence demand, that the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah shall not be permitted to retain possession of resources dangerous to the tranquillity of the British Government in the Peninsula of India.

Wherefore the British Government, still adhering to the principles of moderation, and actuated by its uniform desire of obtaining security for its rights and interests in the Carnatic, by an arrangement founded on the principles of the long subsisting Alliance between the Company and the Family of the Nabob Mahomed Ally judged it expedient to enter into a negociation for that purpose with the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, the Son and Heir of Amir ul Omrah, who was the second Son of the Nabob Mahomed Ally, and the immediate Great-Grandson by both his parents of the Nabob Anwer ud Deen Khan of blessed memory. And his Highness the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder having entered into engagements for the express purpose of reviving the Alliance between the Company and his illustrious Ancestors, and of establishing an adequate security for the British interests in the Carnatic, the British Government has now resolved to exercise its rights and its power, under Providence, in supporting and establishing the hereditary pretensions of the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder in the Soubehdarry of the territories of Arcot, and of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut.

* * * *

By Order of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

(A true copy).

(*Signed*) J. WEBBE,
Chief Secretary to Government.

(*Signed*) N. B. EDMONSTONE,
Secretary.

Fort St. George,
31st July, 1801.

APPENDIX B

Copy of Proceedings of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, on the signing of the Treaty between the Company and Azeem ul Dowlah.

To His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, K. P., Governor-General in Council at Fort William.

My Lord,

1. Lord Clive has had the honour of informing the Governor-General of the demise of his Highness the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, the late Nabob of the Carnatic, on the 15th instant. His Excellency has also been apprized by his Lordship of the measures adopted by Lord Clive, in conformity to the separate Dispatches of the Governor-General, for establishing the rights and interests of the British Government in the Carnatic, on the permanent basis of territorial security.

2. These Dispatches, and the result of Lord Clive's measures for the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, having been communicated to us, we have the honour to acquaint your Excellency in Council, that a Treaty has been this day concluded, subject to the ratification of the Governor-General in Council, for settling the succession to the Soubehdarry of the territories of Arcot, and for vesting the entire Civil and Military Government of the Carnatic in the hands of the Company.

3. The separate Dispatches of Lord Clive will have explained to his Excellency the Governor-General the cause which prevented his Lordship from communicating to the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah the nature of the Governor-General's instructions, founded on the written and oral testimony taken at Seringapatam; the subsequent demand made by Lord Clive of an adequate security for the British interests in the Carnatic, from the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah; the positive and formal rejection by that person of an amicable adjustment of the affairs of the Carnatic, founded on the rights acquired by the Company, from his reputed Father's violation of the Alliance, and of the express stipulations of the Treaty of 1792, the subsequent motives of Lord Clive for opening a negotiation

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

with the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder, for the purpose of reviving the Alliance between the Family of his Highness and the British Government, founded on the instructions of the Governor-General to avoid the humiliation of the Family of the Nabob Mahomed Ally, if it should be practicable to obtain by negotiation the security required for our rights in the Carnatic, and finally the terms of the arrangement which has been concluded by the Deputies under the immediate authority of Lord Clive; these points having been fully stated in his Lordship's separate Dispatches, we trust that it will be sufficient for us to refer the Governor-General in Council to those Dispatches, with the expression of our entire concurrence in the arrangements adopted by Lord Clive under his Excellency's separate instructions.

4. We have now the honour of transmitting to your Excellency in Council, an official copy of the Treaty, which has this day been executed, and interchanged by us, with the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder; and we recommend that a ratified copy of the Treaty may be transmitted to us with all practicable expedition, for the purpose of being delivered to his Highness.

5. The change of circumstances arising from the conduct of Ally Hussain, and the persons appointed to assist his counsels, has rendered it necessary for Lord Clive to introduce a correspondent change in the structure of the Declaration transmitted to his Lordship by the Governor-General. We have the honour of submitting to your Excellency in Council a copy of the Declaration, in the form in which we should judge it advisable to publish that paper, if your Excellency should deem the publication of it to be expedient.

6. It is our intention that a copy of the Declaration in this form shall be immediately transmitted to the Governor in Council at Bombay, and to the Residents at Hyderabad and Poona, for the purpose of communicating to them the grounds on which the succession to the Soubehdarry of the territories of Arcot, and the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic, have

APPENDIX B

been settled and established ; but we shall use no further means for the distribution of that document, unless we should receive instructions for that purpose from your Excellency in Council.

7. In concluding an arrangement involving consequences of so much importance to the British interests in India, it is impossible for us not to feel a degree of anxiety correspondent to the magnitude of the subject, until we shall be honoured by the receipt of the determination of your Excellency in Council on this transaction. In the meanwhile, anticipating with confidence the concurrence of your Lordship's sentiments with our own, we offer our congratulations to your Excellency in Council on the conclusion of an arrangement, by which the rights and interests of Great Britain in the Carnatic have at length been fixed on the solid foundation of territorial security.

8. We have the honour to inform your Excellency in Council, that his Highness the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder has this day been installed in the Musnud of his ancestors, as Nabob Soubehdar of the Carnatic, with every mark of public respect from the British Government, and with every practicable degree of splendour conformable to the usages of India.

9. It is our intention to dispatch the Whim Packet immediately for the purpose of conveying to the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors our Dispatches on the subject, which is now submitted to the Governor-General in Council.

We have the honour to be,
My Lord, with great respect,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient and humble Servants,
(Signed) CLIVE,

F. STUART,
WM. PETRIE,
E. W. FALLOFIELD.

Fort St. George,
31st July, 1801,

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

Copies and Extracts of Letters from the Governor-General and the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors relative to the Revolution in the Carnatic, and the Assumption of its Government by the Company.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

1. Your Honourable Committee has been already made acquainted by the Dispatches of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, with the written evidence discovered at Seringapatam, of the treacherous conduct of their Highnesses the Nabobs Walajah and Omdut ul Omrah.

2. On the receipt of the Governor-General's separate Dispatches, Lord Clive, in conformity to His Excellency's desire expressed in a private Dispatch, appointed Mr. Webbe, the Chief Secretary to this Government, and Lieutenant Colonel Close, the Resident at Mysore, to be Commissioners, for the purpose of conducting the oral examinations necessary to complete the proofs of these most extraordinary transactions.

3. The Report of the Commissioners, with the Proceedings, was received by Lord Clive, and transmitted to his Excellency the Governor-General, in the month of May, 1800, with a Dispatch from Lord Clive, containing his Lordship's sentiments on the result of the enquiry instituted at Seringapatam.

4. Circumstances connected with our general policy and interests, rendered it expedient for the Governor-General to postpone his Excellency's determination, with respect to the measures to be adopted in consequence of this flagrant violation of the ties of Amity and Alliance by the Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah. The causes of this unavoidable delay, are explained in a recent Dispatch, received by Lord Clive from the Governor-General, containing the result of his Excellency's deliberation on this important question, together

APPENDIX'B

with his Lordship's instructions in regard to the nature and extent of the security to be required for the rights and interests of the Company in the Carnatic.

5. During the time when this subject was under the consideration of the Governor-General, the state of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah's health became so precarious as to portend consequences fatal to the existence of his Highness.

6. At an early period of time, after the discovery of the papers found at Seringapatam, the Governor-General had judged it expedient and prudent to transmit eventual instructions to Lord Clive, applicable to the contingency of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah's death, previously to the determination of the measures which might be rendered necessary to our safety, by the detection of the faithless and hostile conduct of His Highness. Lord Clive was also enabled to receive instructions from the Governor-General, applicable to the contingency of the Nabob's death, subsequently to the determination of the system of policy to be pursued for the future security of our interests in the Carnatic.

7. These dispatches were entrusted by the Governor-General, together with his Excellency's verbal instructions, to Mr. Webbe, who arrived at Fort St. George previously to the dissolution of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah. Although the important measures connected with the execution of the Governor-General's orders, rendered Lord Clive extremely anxious to demand, at the earliest practicable period of time, an adequate security for the British interests against the hostile councils of his Highness, yet the extreme debility of Omdut ul Omrah appeared, upon the affidavit of his Highness's physician, to be such as to deter Lord Clive from communicating to his Highness the arrival of the Governor-General's Dispatches. The subsequent death of Omdut ul Omrah, which happened on the 15th ultimo, frustrated the intention of Lord

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

Clive to open a negociation with his Highness according to the instructions of the Governor-General.

8. On the demise of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, Lord Clive deputed Mr. Webbe and Lieutenant Colonel Close to open a Conference with the principal Officers of the late Government for the purpose of demanding from the successor of Omdut ul Omrah the security required by the instructions of the Governor-General.

9. The manner in which those Conferences were conducted, is described in a report of the deputies; and the result of them was a declaration by Ally Hussain (the reputed Son, and the Heir appointed by the Will of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah) of his final resolution not to acquiesce in Lord Clive's demand of security to the extent considered by the Governor-General, and by his Lordship, to be indispensably necessary to the security of the British interests.

10. During these Conferences with the persons appointed by Omdut ul Omrah to assist the councils of his Highness's reputed Son, the deputies nominated by Lord Clive endeavoured to impress on the minds of those Khans the nature of the proofs established on the written and oral testimony taken at Seringapatam; and no means of assurance, argument, or persuasion were omitted, which could tend to convince those persons of the existence of the Governor-General's orders, founded on the instructions of your Honourable Committee, and of Lord Clive's serious determination to carry those orders into effect, to the extent of obtaining an adequate security for the rights and interests of the Company in the Carnatic. Under the circumstances of the recent death of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and of the indeterminate state of the affairs of his Highness, some degree of delay was inseparable from these negociations; but we have no doubt that your Committee will consider the inconveniences arising from that delay, to be compensated by the generosity of affording to the Family of

APPENDIX B

Omdut ul Omrah, in this spirit of temperance and moderation, sufficient leisure to appreciate the serious effects of this alternative choice on its immediate interest. The Khans appointed to act on the part of Ally Hussain, having persisted to refuse to the Deputies the security required by the Governor-General, Lord Clive judged it to be his Lordship's duty, previously to the adoption of the measures dependant on that refusal, to obtain, if possible, a knowledge of the genuine sentiments of Ally Hussain himself on this important proposition. Lord Clive accordingly held two personal interviews with the reputed Son of Omdut ul Omrah, at which none of the Officers or Advisers of the late Government were present, the place at which these interviews were held being within the encampment of the British troops. The mode of this Meeting was attended with the further advantage of affording to Ally Hussain immediate security and protection in the event of his desiring to relieve himself from the desperate and infatuated councils of his Advisers. At these personal interviews, the nature of the rights acquired by the British Government was explained to Ally Hussain; the determination to exercise those rights was stated; and the consequences of a refusal on his part to afford, in an amicable manner, the security required by the British Government, were announced in the most serious and formal manner by Lord Clive to the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah. In reply to this communication, Ally Hussain distinctly and formally stated his resolution to adhere to the councils of the Khans appointed to assist, and to refuse, with a perfect knowledge of the consequences of that refusal, to accede to the demand for the establishment of an adequate security for the interests and rights of the Company in the Carnatic.

11. In consequence of the resistance, unexpectedly, opposed by Ally Hussain to this reasonable demand, it remained for Lord Clive to apply the instructions and authority conveyed

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

to his Lordship by the Governor-General to the actual state of circumstances. In proceeding to exercise the rights of the British Government, which the conduct of Ally Hussain had compelled his Lordship to assert, Lord Clive still judged it to be consistent with the sentiments of national magnanimity and generosity, that the British Government should refrain from the exercise of the Company's power, and from the absolute humiliation of the family of Mahomed Ally, if an adequate security could be obtained through the channel of an amicable adjustment. Under the impression of these sentiments, Lord Clive directed his attention to the claims and to the situation of the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder. This Prince is the only son by a formal marriage of the late Ameer ul Omrah, who was the second son of the late Nabob Ally, and is the immediate great-grandson, by both his parents, of the Nabob Anwer ud Deen Khan, the founder of the family. The rights of Omdut ul Omrah, founded on the Treaty of 1792, having been vitiated by that Prince's violation of the Alliances, and of the stipulations of that instrument, the hereditary claims of the house of Mahomed Ally descended to the second branch of the family, represented by the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah, the son of Ameer ul Omrah, who was the second son of the Nabob Mahomed Ally.

12. As soon as the restraint imposed by the family of Omdut ul Omrah on the person of the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah could be removed, Lord Clive directed the deputies, Mr. Webbe and Lieut. Col. Close, to open a communication with that Prince, for the purpose of reviving the alliance between his ancestors and the Company, and of establishing the rights and interest of the British Government in the Carnatic on a permanent basis of security. The grounds of the reasoning in which this determination was founded, are stated in a separate Dispatch from Lord Clive to the Governor-General, to which we refer your Honourable Committee.

APPENDIX B

13. The Prince Azeem ul Dowlah having informed by the Deputies, of the foundation on which the right of the British Government to demand an adequate security was supported, and of the nature of the security required, signified his acknowledgment of that right, and his willingness to afford, in the event of his elevation to the Musnud of his ancestors, the security demanded by the authority of the Governor-General. The deputies accordingly, proceeded to frame a written engagement on these principles, which was executed by the Prince Azeem ul Dowlah.

14. In conformity to this arrangement we have acknowledged Azeem ul Dowlah to be Nabob of the Carnatic, and refer your Committee to the detailed grounds of this measure to a declaration, which has been transmitted to the Governor-General in Council, to the Governor in Council at Bombay, to the Governor of Ceylon, and to the Residents at Hyderabad and Poona; for this purpose we also refer the Committee to the Treaty, which has been concluded with the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah Behauder.

15. The mode of providing for the support of the dignity of his Highness the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, is conformable to the principles on which the alliance between his Highness's family and the Company has been revived and established. By these means the interests of his Highness will become united with those of the Company, in the general prosperity of the Carnatic; and while the actual security of the British interests, provided by the present arrangement, remains undiminished, the mode of supplying a fund for the expenses of the family in the manner suitable to its rank, and to the dignity of the British Government, by the allotment of a proportion of the Public Revenue for that purpose, is entirely relieved from the degrading name and appearance of a stipendiary maintenance.

16. In conformity to the plan described in the Governor-General's letter of the 24th April, 1799, to the late Nabob

Omdut ul Omrah, for including in the Treaty at that time proposed to his Highness, a complete adjustment of all the affairs of his Highness, and of his Highness's ancestors, which yet remain unadjusted with the Company, Lord Clive deemed it to be his duty to stipulate an entire adjustment of the debts due by the family of the Nabob to the Company. His Highness having assented to this demand, a clause has accordingly been introduced into the Treaty, by which the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah acknowledges on his own part, and on that of his ancestors, heretofore Nabobs of the Carnatic, the debt commonly called the Cavalry Loan, and the debt arising from the consolidated debt of 1777, paid by the Company to the private creditors of the late Nabob Mahomed Ally, to be just debts due to the Company, together with the interest arising thereon. His Highness the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah further binds himself to acknowledge, as a just debt due to the Company, the amount which may be pronounced by the Governor-General in Council, to be the just and fair balance of the unadjusted account between his Family and the Company, according to the engagement by which the Nabob Mahomed Ally bound himself to abide by the decision of the Governor-General in Council, when his Highness referred those accounts to the determination of the Supreme Government.

17. It will be obvious to your honourable Committee, that the intention of Lord Clive, stipulating this article of the Treaty, was directed to secure to the Company the appropriation of the sum of six lacks and twenty-one thousand pagodas, unincumbered by any deductions to the discharge of the public debt due to the Company, as soon as the consolidated debt of 1777 shall have been liquidated under the existing engagements with the conditions of the Nabob Mahomed Ally.

18. The object of securing this sum, for the liquidation of the debt due to the Company, did not appear less important to Lord Clive, than the expediency of providing that, under any

APPENDIX B

circumstances which may occur, a more adequate proportion of the Revenues of the Carnatic should be applied to the military defence of those valuable possessions, than can now be appropriated to that purpose. The calamitous impoverishment of every source of wealth and population, of which the causes have been repeatedly stated to your Honourable Committee, leaves no immediate expectation that the net revenues of the Carnatic will exceed the sum of nineteen lacks of star pagodas. This fund, after allotting a sufficient sum for the support of the expenses of the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah, for the maintenance of the principal officers, ministers, dependants, and family of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, and for the payment of the amount appropriated to the liquidation of the consolidated debt of the Nabob Mahomed Ally, will afford a sum probably not exceeding nine lacks of pagodas for the defrayment of the charges of defending these extensive territories.

19. That sum exceeds, by a very small amount, the proportion of the revenue which the province of Tanjore contributes to the general exigencies of the state, and bears a very inadequate proportion, either to the expence of defending the Carnatic, or to the rate of assessment levied for the public protection in every other part of the Presidency. The present deduction of six from fifteen lacks of pagodas, is therefore so disproportioned to the present revenues of the Carnatic, that we can indulge no very sanguine hope of an immediate augmentation of our pecuniary resources from the administration of the Civil Government of the Carnatic. The progressive decline of the Revenues of the Carnatic may be considered to have approached that stage, at which your Committee have been prepared to except the entire failure of the Nabob's Government, and, under the existing engagements, the augmentation of our resources must be proportioned to the gradual restoration of the wealth and prosperity of the Country; every consideration, therefore, of the actual expense of protecting the ex-

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

tensive provinces of the Carnatic, every view of the indispensable necessity of maintaining an adequate military force for the defence of the British possessions in the peninsula of India and every motive of attention to the alarming pressure on the finances of this Presidency, required Lord Clive to establish, by the present Treaty, the best possible security for a more adequate application, in future, of the Public Revenues of the Carnatic to the exigencies of the Public Service.

20. We feel great pleasure in congratulating your Honourable Committee on the completion of an arrangement, which has at length secured the British interests in the Carnatic on the solid basis of territorial possession; and which is, at the same time, calculated to confirm the reputation of our national magnanimity, generosity, and moderation. We have no doubt that your Honourable Committee will concur in our sentiments, that the negotiation, which has terminated in the accomplishment of these important objects, has been conducted in a manner consistent with the liberal policy of the Nation, unbiassed by the adventitious advantage which might have been derived from the early excitement of a competition, founded on the variety of adverse interests dependent on the determination of the British Councils.

We have the honour to inform you, that, in conformity to the terms of the Treaty, the installation of the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah was completed on the 31st ult. accompanied with every demonstration of public respect, supported by every possible degree of splendour, and confirmed under the observance of the most formal procedure. We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Honourable Sirs,
Yours faithful humble Servants,
(Signed) CLIVE,

T. STUART,
WM. PETIE,
E. W. FALLOFIELD.

Fort St. George,
3rd August, 1801.

APPENDIX C.

Verses which bring out the chronogram of the coronation of Aḡīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

چون ابی مدارِ ملکِ حشمت * صاحبِ کرم و عظیمِ دولت
در بذل و عطا چو ابرِ نیسان * والا حسب و بلندِ همت
از حکمِ خدائے هر دو عالم * او بود چو صاحبِ وراثت
بشکست و بریدِ پائے حاسد * بنشست بمسندِ امارت
تاریخِ جلوس گفت هاتف * شد مالکِ مسندِ ریاست

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APPENDIX D.

*Minute of Lord Clive, dated 29th September, 1801,
relative to the pecuniary Provision to be made for
the Families of the late Nabobs Mahomed Ali and
Omdut ul Omrah, etc., etc.*

Minute of Lord Clive in Council, 29th September, 1801.

I have the honour of communicating to the Board a Statement of the pecuniary provision which I propose to make for the Family of their late Highnesses the Nabob Mahomed Ally and the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, as well as for the principal Officers and Dependants of the late Government. This Statement has been prepared in communication with his Highness the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah. Reason therefore exists for believing that the provision now proposed extends to every branch of the Family, and that the Company will be liable to no further expense for its support.

It appears by the Accounts with which I have been furnished from the Durbar of the Nabob that the appropriation of the Family Jagheers by the Nabob Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah has been extremely capricious; by these means many members of the Family have lived in the enjoyment of superfluous abundance, while the greater part has with difficulty commanded the means of subsistence. This mode of appropriation has therefore afforded no guide for the allotment of the pecuniary stipends; and I have judged it most expedient to divide the Family and its connexions into separate classes, according to the respective gradations of the different branches.

In proposing half a lakh of rupees for the support of each of the legitimate Sons of the Nabob Mahomed Ally, I have

APPENDIX D

allowed myself perhaps to exceed the bounds which a strict interpretation of the situation of those Princes might justify; but I have been unwilling to detract from the liberality by which the British Government has been guided throughout the recent transactions connected with this Family; and it did not appear to be consistent with this plan of arrangement, that a less income should be allotted to the legitimate Sons of Mahomed Ally, than that appropriated to the support of the elder Sons of the late Tippoo Sultaun. To the inferior branches of the Family I have allotted stipends, calculated in a relative proportion according to the respective classes to which they have been referred.

Some oppressive exactions having been made by Hussam ul Mulk (the second surviving Son of the Nabob Mahomed Ally) in his capacity of Foujdar of Trichinopoly, particularly in the Pagoda of Seringam, the means of re-compensing the sufferers will hereafter be a subject of consideration for the Governor in Council, but I shall consider it indispensably necessary to apply a great portion of the stipend of Hussam ul Mulk to this purpose; for the same reason I shall propose to reimburse the Company in the amount of the arrear paid to the troops of Sultan ul Nissa Begum, the favourite Sister of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, from the stipend allotted to that Princess.

The only deviation I have admitted from the principle of distributing the Family into classes, is in favour of Tadjul Omra, the eldest reputed Son of the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah. The operation of that principle would have referred him to the class of Nekahe Sons, and perhaps a strict interpretation of his condition might be more consistent with that principle, because a deviation in his favour can only be founded on considerations connected with his former rank and expectations, and might therefore be liable to the imputation of encouraging hopes, which, having been decidedly cut off, it may be unwise to indulge.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

I am disposed however, in the present state of circumstances, to consider Ally Hussein to be more an object of compassion than of danger, and I think that the proposed stipend of Rs. 24,000 per annum, affords sufficient means of gratifying his wishes, without encroaching on the expediency of suppressing his pretensions to the Government of the Carnatic.

The list of the Officers of the late Government is not extensive, and the provision which I propose to make for them is liberal. Of the four principal Officers of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, introduced to the deputies after the death of that Prince, I have included only Tucky Ally Khan; and I have allotted to him a stipend proportioned to his former rank in the Durbar. Nejeeb Khan (the other person named in the Will of Omdut ul Omrah) holds at present a Jagheer, which will hereafter come under the consideration of the Board, and will afford, I have no doubt, ample means of maintaining that Khan. The part which Kadir Nāwaz Khan has acted in the extraordinary negotiations of the late Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, has rendered it impossible to include him in the arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic upon the present foundation; and with respect to Mr. Barret, it will be manifest, from the description of that person contained in the report of the Deputies, that the same considerations do not apply to him, which apply to the Mussulmen Gentlemen of rank and character in the service of the late Government.

The three Princes connected with the Family of the Emperor at Delhi have, I understand, resided in the neighbourhood of this Presidency, and have been supported by the bounty of the late Nabobs Mahomed Ally and Omdut ul Omrah, during a long period of time; I have therefore judged it necessary, in framing the present arrangement, to secure to persons of their description the certain means of subsistence through the channel of the Company's Government.

APPENDIX D

Having concluded these arrangements with his Highness the Nabob, in conformity to the stipulations of the Treaty, I consider it to be consistent with the spirit of that instrument, to give every appearance of support to the dignity and rank to his present Highness, and to restrain the spirit of hostility which has been avowed by many branches of the Family towards the Nabob Azeem ul Dowlah. While therefore I propose to secure to each branch of the Family the actual enjoyment of the pension allotted to it, by rendering it payable at the Company's Treasury to such persons as may be appointed to receive it, I judge it to be indispensably necessary, to the preservation of good order and harmony in the Family, that the receipts to be granted by the different members of it should be previously subjected to the Nabob's inspection, and that the payment of the pensions shall be suspended unless such receipts shall bear the seal and signature of his Highness.

I consider it to be extremely desirable that every precaution shall be used for securing the happiness and comfort of the Nabob on the foundation of the present arrangement; in order therefore to preserve his Highness from the errors of his predecessors, to defend him from the machinations of interested persons, to restrain his expenses within the limit of his income, and to impress constantly on his mind the principles of his connection with the British Government, I judge it to be expedient that a person should be appointed to attend his Highness's Durbar, and to hold a constant personal communication with him on the part of this Government. The general objects of this arrangement will be subject to the immediate superintendence of the Government; and the duties of the subordinate Office, which I propose to create, will be directed to the maintenance of that intercourse, to the timely communication of the intended measures of the Nabob, and to the establishment of an immediate control, under circumstances contributing at the same time to the honour and respect due to his Highness's station.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

The nature of these duties is such as to require the appointment of a Mussulman of good character and understanding, rather than an European Gentleman. I have the best opinion of the fidelity of Gholaum Hussain, the principal Moonshy in the Persian Office, and of his qualifications to discharge the duties of that station with satisfaction to this Government and advantage to the Company. I propose accordingly to nominate Gholaum Hussain to attend (under the immediate orders of the Governor) the Durbar of his Highness the Nabob, with a salary of one hundred pagodas per month, and with an allowance of fifty pagodas for equipage and servants. These sums of money, it is my intention to charge on the fund to be appropriated to the support of the Family and dependants of the Nabob.

The Board will observe, by the statements which I have the honour of communicating to it, that the amount of the proposed pecuniary provision for the Family and Dependants of the Nabob, is less than the amount appropriable to that purpose, according to the stipulations of the Treaty of 1792; and the nature of the present arrangement is calculated to secure a gradual diminution of this expenditure.

I propose that the payment of the stipends shall commence from the first day of October.

- I. Statement of the pecuniary provision to be made for the surviving branches of the Families of their Highnesses the late Nabob Mahomed Ally, and the late Nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

I

Family of the Nabob Mahomed Ally.

Three sons by legitimate marriage; <i>vis.</i>	Rs.	Rs.
Sief ul Mulk	.. 50,000	
Hussam ul Mulk	.. 50,000	
Nassur ul Mulk	.. 50,000	
	<hr/>	
		150,000
Three daughters by legitimate marriage; <i>vis.</i>		
Sultaun ul Nissa Begum	.. 25,000	
Mullickul Nissa Begum	.. 25,000	
Omdut ul Nissa Begum	.. 25,000	
	<hr/>	
		75,000

APPENDIX D

	Rs.	Rs.
Ten sons by Nika ; <i>vis.</i>		
Hussain Nawaz Khan	.. 10,000	
Serafraz Khan	.. 10,000	
Abdul Hamid Khan	.. 10,000	
Nassur Oollah Khan	.. 10,000	
Gholam Mahomed Khan	.. 10,000	
Ismael Khan	.. 10,000	
Hussain Mahomed Khan	.. 10,000	
Aboo Turab Khan	.. 10,000	
Abdul Mahbood Khan	.. 10,000	
Abdul Ghuffar Khan	.. 10,000	
	<hr/>	
		100,000
Five Nika Ladies ; <i>vis.</i>		
Riesul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Zub ul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Lal Mahal	.. 5,000	
Khattijah Begum	.. 5,000	
Padsha Begum	.. 5,000	
	<hr/>	
		25,000
		<hr/>
		350,000
Twelve daughters by Nika ; <i>vis.</i>		
Nejubul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Aziezul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Serajul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Afzul ul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Fachrul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Dowlut ul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Rizzia Begum	.. 5,000	
Reheem ul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Fuzulut ul Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Raabia Begum	.. 5,000	
Lutful Nissa Begum	.. 5,000	
Hafiza Begum	.. 5,000	
	<hr/>	
		60,000
One Grandson by Nika ; <i>vis.</i>		
Abdul Bosit Khan	..	3,000
Inferior Nika Ladies ; <i>vis.</i>		
Pursun Buby	.. 3,000	
Hudjainy Buby	.. 1,200	

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

	Rs.	Rs.
Aumunah Buby	.. 1,200	
Kanullah Buby	.. 1,200	
Four Circassians.	.. 4,200	
Muddary Begum	.. 1,200	
		<hr/>
		12,000
The Haram	..	8,400
		<hr/>
Total	..	4,33,400
		<hr/>

II

Family of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah.

The Begum Dolary Begum	..	25,000
Three Sons by Nika ; viz.		
Tadjul Omrah	.. 24,000	
Shah Sowar Jung	.. 10,000	
Bakir Hussain Khan	.. 10,000	
		<hr/>
		44,000
One Daughter by Nika ; viz.		
Hussa bul Nissa	..	5,000
Four Nika Ladies ; viz.		
Gussaty Begum	.. 5,000	
Colsum Begum	.. 5,000	
Chuloor Begum	.. 5,000	
Mahatab	.. 5,000	
		<hr/>
		20,000
One inferior concubine, recently admitted into the Mahal		
with her infant son	..	2,400
The Haram	..	4,053
		<hr/>
Total	..	1,00,453

III

The Family of Abdul Wahab Khan, the legitimate Brother of the Nabob Mahomed Ally; viz.

Two sons by legitimate marriages ; viz.		
Dileer Jung	.. 24,000	
Khan Jehan Khan	.. 12,000	
		<hr/>

36,000

APPENDIX D

	Rs.	Rs.
Four sons by Nika ; <i>vis.</i>		
Serafraz Khan	.. 2,000	
Nedum Oollah	.. 2,000	
Abdo Rezzak Khan	.. 2,000	
Kurreimodeen Ahmed	.. 2,000	
	<hr/>	8,000
One legitimate Wife, Lally Begum	..	6,000
Three Nika Ladies ; <i>vis.</i>		
Allah Rukky	.. 2,000	
Mastura Khanum	.. 1,000	
Salliah Bee	.. 500	
	<hr/>	3,500
Five Daughters ; <i>vis.</i>		
Karrem ul Nissa	.. 2,000	
Rahmut ul Nissa	.. 2,000	
Ahmedy Begum	.. 2,000	
Buddyul Begum	.. 2,000	
Wugjyul Nissa	.. 2,000	
	<hr/>	10,000
The Family of Ectadar Khan, a son by Nika	..	2,000
Total	..	<hr/> 65,500 <hr/>

IV

The Family of Mahpooz Khan, the Brother of the Nabob Mahomed Ally by Nika.

One Son Mahpooz Khan	..	6,000
Three Daughters ; <i>vis.</i>		
The wife of Mahomed Murad	.. 2,000	
The wife of Mahomed Ally Khan	.. 2,000	
Buby Saheb	.. 1,200	
	<hr/>	5,200
Total	..	<hr/> 11,200 <hr/>

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

V

Rs. Rs.

Separate connections of the Nabob Mahomed Ally.

Abdul Kadir, the nephew of Mahomed Ally by his legitimate Sister ..	12,000
The Family of Jan Jehan Khan, nephew of Mahomed Ally by his legitimate Sister ..	5,000
The Family of Lewad Khan, a Nikahi son of Mahomed Ally ..	5,000
The Family of Hussain Ally Khan, a Nikahi son of Mahomed Ally ..	5,000
The Family of Nejeeb Ollah Khan, a Nikahi Brother of Mahomed Ally ..	2,000
The Family of Budder ul Islam Khan, a Nikahi Brother of Mahomed Ally ..	3,000
Total ..	32,000

VI

Officers of the Government of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah, not included in the provision made for the Family of his Highness.

Mochtar Jung Foujdar of Tinnewelly ..	4,200
Ally Newaz Khan, Killadar of Arcot ..	4,200
Purky Ally Khan, one of the Ministers at Madras ..	4,200
Meer Assud Ollah Khan ..	4,200
Kuttub Oodin Khan ..	1,200
Jowaher Ally Khan, Killadar of Rylasgur ..	1,200
Serafraz Ally Khan, Killadar of Terrioor ..	1,200
Bakir Gowa, Killadar of Chittoor ..	2,400
Ameen ud Din Ally Khan Behauder ..	1,200
Moonsly Gholaum Hussein ..	6,320
Total ..	34,520

VII

Three relations of the Emperor of Delhi pensioned by the Nabob Mahomed Ally.

Humaooin Bucht ..	6,000
Ally Bucht ..	4,200
His young Brother ..	1,200

11,400

APPENDIX D

RECAPITULATION.		Rs.	Rs.
1.	Family of the Nabob Mahomed Ally	..	4,33,400
2.	Family of the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah	..	1,00,453
3.	Family of the Nabob Abdul Wahab Khan	..	65,500
4.	Family of the Nabob Mahpooz Khan	..	11,200
5.	Separate Connections	..	32,000
6.	Officers of the late Government	..	34,520
7.	Relations of the Emperor	..	11,400
			<hr/>
Grand total		..	6,88,473
			<hr/>

(Signed) CLIVE.

(A true copy.)

(Signed) F. WEBBE,
Chief Secretary to Government.

APPENDIX E.

*Verses which bring out the chronogram of the death of
Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.*

چون رخت بہ بست ازین سوئے ناکایم * کان بود ز دل غلامِ آنِ ہاشم
گفتم سِی رحلتِ عظیم الدولہ * پیوستہ برحمتِ الہی دایم
۱۲۳۴

APPENDIX F.

*The Chronogram of the coronation of A'zam Jāh Bahā-
dur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.*

چون ز فیضِ قدومِ اعظم جاہ * زیب آور شدہ ریاست و تخت
ہاتفِ دل بہ سالِ تاریخش * مسندِ جلوہ گاہِ اعظم گفت
۱۲۳۵

APPENDIX G.

Note on the delay in the recognition of A'zam Jah Bahādur as the Nawwāb of the Carnatic in succession to his father, Nawwāb Aḡimūdd-Dawla Bahādur.

Three years after Azim-ud daula's installation in 1801 Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, declared that the British Government, "unwilling to degrade the illustrious house of Arcot, was pleased to establish your highness Azimud-Dawla upon the throne, reserving to itself the administration of the Civil and Military affairs of the country." Even in the earlier proclamation of July 27, 1801, declaring Azimud-Dawla the Nawab, the Government of Lord Clive said that "it has now resolved to exercise its right and its power, under providence, in supporting and establishing the hereditary pretensions of prince Azim-ud-daula Bahadur."

Nawab Azim-ud-daula died in August, 1819, and was succeeded, after an interval of several months, by his eldest son, Azam Jah. The Madras Government wrote to the Government of India that it would have been satisfactory to the family of the Nawab to have been informed whether the Governor-General-in-Council, considered the treaty of 1801 "to have guaranteed the succession to the musnud to his (Azim-ud-daula's) family in the direct and legitimate line of descent to which opinion they themselves had always been inclined as well from the spirit in which the treaty was concluded as the tenor of its profession and also from the terms of the declaration published at that period." According to Sir Charles Aitchison (author of *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, etc.*) Nawab Azam Jah was informed that as the treaty of 1801 did not stipulate that the rank and dignity of the Nawab should be

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

hereditary in the family of Azim-ud-daula, his succession depended on the "pleasure of the Supreme Government." The Madras Government recommended that the new Nawab should be called upon to execute some formal instrument recognising explicitly its conditions; but the India Government did not consider it necessary to conclude any such new engagement with the Nawab. The treaty of 1801 was not renewed at this time; and the installation of Nawab Azam Jah was delayed for a period of six months, because "of the absence from the treaty of 1801 of any stipulation regarding the succession" and the consequent uncertainty as to the procedure to be followed.

Later on, Lord Dalhousie averred that as the Government of India refused to renew the treaty of 1801 in 1819 that treaty had no existence and its provisions had no binding force after the death of the Nawab Azim-ud-daula, "with whom alone it was concluded and to whom alone it was applicable." Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, at the time of the abolition of the Nawabship, also misinterprets, according to Major Bell, the transaction of 1819 and says that the Government of Madras had pointed out to the Government of India in their correspondence of 1819, that "they were not authorised by the treaty to acknowledge any successor." Bell¹ contends that the treaty of 1801 was a public treaty and not a mere personal one. It was a treaty which is real according to International Law; and it did not relate exclusively to the persons of the contracting parties and was not terminable either with their death or with their disappearance. The Treaty was made for public objects and therefore valid and binding "for all time to come." He further maintains that, even if it had been personal, it would not have expired because the family of the contracting sovereign was not extinct. Article 2 of the treaty included the recital of the

(1) See E. Bell's *Letters from India* edited with an introduction by C. S. Srinivasachari, 1935, pp. 51-2 of Introduction.

APPENDIX G

previous treaties of 1787 and 1792; and it declared finally that its main additional provisions were "to supply the defects of all former engagements and to establish the connection between the contracting parties on a permanent basis of security in all times to come." Manifestly, the term, contracting parties, indicates and includes the representatives and continuators of the Wallajah family and the East India Company "in the past, in the present and in the future", and points to "a permanent alliance and a perpetual succession."

Azim-ud-daula died on the 3rd of August, 1819, leaving several sons, the eldest of whom was the Nawab Azam Jah.—"Under date 2nd October, 1819, the Madras Government stated to that of India, that it would have been satisfactory to them to have been informed whether the Governor-General-in-Council considered the treaty concluded with the late Nawab on the 31st July, 1801, to have guaranteed the succession to the musnud to his family in the direct and legitimate line of descent, to which opinion they themselves had always been inclined as well from the spirit in which the treaty was concluded, as from the tenor of its professions and also from the terms of the declaration published at that period." [Carnatic Papers, 1860, p. 35.] The declaration of the Madras Government of July 27th, 1801, says: "The British Government has now resolved to exercise its rights and its power, under Providence, in supporting and establishing the hereditary pretensions of the Prince Azeem-ul-Dowlah Bahadur." They thought it advisable, "now that the Nawab Azam Jah had virtually become a party" to the new treaty, that he should be called upon "to execute some formal instrument" recognising its conditions. Azam Jah, the son of Azim-ud-doula, was informed that as the treaty of 1801 did not stipulate that the rank and dignity of Nawab of the Carnatic should be hereditary in the family of Azim-ud-daula, his succession depended on the pleasure of the Supreme Government. Azam Jah was, however, recognised; but it was not considered necessary to

conclude any new engagement with him. (Aitchison's *Treaties etc.*—Vol. X, p. 5).

The Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, was of opinion that no such instrument, or new treaty was required, as he considered "his Highness to be *ipso facto* a party to the treaty concluded with his father in 1801." The eldest son, Azam Jah, was therefore installed on the 3rd of February, 1820, and congratulated by the Governor on "ascending the musnud in the direct line of hereditary succession to your father."

APPENDIX H.

Verses which bring out the date of the death of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

چو رفته بدارِ بقا از فنا * ولی عهد نواب رحمت مآب
 بهالاش جناب رسالت دلم * بگفتا لقب داد رضوان مآب
 ۱۲۴۱

APPENDIX I.

Verses which give the date of the coronation of Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V.

خلفِ ارجمندِ اعظمِ جاه * از وراثتِ چو بهرہ در گردید
 خردم گفت از سر الحمد * رونقِ مسندِ پدر گردید
 ۱۲۴۱

دیگر

جب ہوا رخشندهٔ مسندِ وہ ماہِ خوبرو
 جلوهٔ افروزی ہوئی ہر سمت تب اس ماہ کی
 از سر الحمد ہاتف نے کہا سالِ جلوس
 ۶ منور مسندِ دولت منورِ جاہ کی

APPENDIX J.

*Verses which commemorate the regency of Nawwāb
Aḡīm Jāh Bahādur.*

انکہ نواب عظیم و عظیم است بجاہ
کز نسیم خردش غنچہ دولت بشگفت
شد چو او نائبِ مختار، سروشِ غیبی
لفظِ مختار بسالِ سنِ مختاری گفت

۱۲۴۱

APPENDIX K.

*Ghazals in Hindī language composed by Mīr Khurshīd
Hasan Mūsawī on the occasion of the ceremony of
bismillāh-khwānī of Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth
Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V.*

جب کہ نوابِ زمان منہ سے کہا بسم اللہ
تب ہوئی چنگ و دف و نے سے صدا بسم اللہ
بلبلانِ چمنِ فرح لگے ہونے نثار
غنچہ لب اوسکا جو پڑھنے کو کھلا بسم اللہ
عندلیبانِ گلستانِ مسرت بولے
واہ کیا صاف پڑھا نامِ خدا بسم اللہ
کہتے ہیں پیر و جوان خرد و کلان از سرِ ناز
چشمِ بد دور کہاں ایسا ہوا بسم اللہ
ہوے مقبرل یہ خورشیدِ حسن سے یا رب
جو دعا کرتا ہے کہہ کہہ کے صدا بسم اللہ
سایہ میں جدّہ و مادر و چچا کے اوس کے
اوسکی اولاد کا تو اوسکو دکھا بسم اللہ
ہے صلہ اس کا دوشالہ و گہر خلعت و زر
پر جو تو چہتا ہے فی الوقت دلا بسم اللہ

APPENDIX L.

Verses composed by Mīr Khurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī indicating the date of the construction of Shādī Mahall palace.

چون رئیس زمان و صاحب جاه * زینت تخت و رونق دیهیم
کرده تعمیر یک عمارت نو * کو درین دهر هست رشک نعیم
قصر با رفعتی ندید چنین * چشم پیر فلک به هفت اقلیم
شد چو آراسته ز فضل خدا * و ز طفیلِ رسولِ ربِّ کریم
سالِ تاریخ گفت هاتفِ غیب * چشم بد دور بارگاهِ عظیم
۱۲۴۷

بانیش باد با حصولِ مرام * اندرین قصر دیر گاه مقیم
دارد امید ذرّه خورشید * سرفرازم کنی ز فیضِ عیم

تیار چو شد عمارتِ خاص * زان روز مرا ست ورد دایم
یا رب بحقِ نبی و آتش * ایوانِ بعظیم باد قائم
۱۲۴۸

یا رب بحقِ نبی بداری * ایوانِ عظیم جاهِ قائم
۱۲۴۸

APPENDIX M.

Verses of Mīr Klurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī celebrating the occupation of a new house by Muḥammad Karīm the author of Saḥānīhāt-i-Mumtāz.

چونکه نجم النسا به عهدِ عظیم * خانه در وقتِ مشتری بخريد
راقمِ وصفِ آن عطارد شد * زحل و مریخ پاسبان گردید
با قمر زهره گفت تاریخش * از سرِ جاهِ منزلِ خورشید
۱۲۵۰

INDEX.

[PARTS I—IV]

A

- Abbās Husayn, IV. 110.
- Abbāsī Bēgam, *d.* of Ghulām Khayrullāh, *m.* Rīzā Husayn, IV. 83.
- Abbās Khān Sarwanī author of the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhi*, on the daily routine of Sher Shāh, I. 29 *f.n.*
- Abbās Qulī Khān, II. 102-4.
- Abdul-Aḥmad Khān, II. 69 *f.n.*
- Abdul-ʿAlī Khān Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur, son of Amīrūl-Umarā Bahādur Madārūl-Mulk and Azīmūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 69.
- Abdul-ʿAzīz, a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 86.
- Abdul-Bāsiṭ Khān, *m.* the *d.* of Abdul-Ghaffār Khān, IV. 87.
- Abdul-Bāsiṭ Khān, father of Ghulām Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Rastagār Jang, IV. 74.
- Abdul-Ghaffār Khān Bahādur Thābit Jang a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, (Ḥazrat-i-ʿAlā), II. 10; *m.* the younger sister of Khādīja Bēgam, and father of a son and a daughter, IV. 87.
- Abdul-Ghani Khān, father of Najaf ʿAlī Khān, IV. 86.
- Abdul-Hādī (Šamsāmūd-Mulk Šamsāmūd-Dawla Muḥammad Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Šamsām Jang), son of Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam, *m.* a *d.* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 101.
- Abdul-Hādī Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Šamsāmūd-Dawla Bahādur, sitser's son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, *m.* Nawwāb Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 65.
- brother of Ḥāfiṣ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 66.
- Abdul-Hādī Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Šamsāmūd-Dawla Bahādur, brother of Mawlawī Abdul-Wālī Khān I'tiṣāmūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 66.
- Abdul-Hādī (Šamsāmūd Dawla), nephew of Ḥazrat-i-ʿAlā, *m.* Buddhi Bēgam, II. 9.
- Abdul-Ḥafīṣ Khān Bahādur Saḡwat Jang, son of Ḥāmid ʿAlī Khān, *m.* Sharafūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 89.
- Abdul-Ḥakīm Khān Bahādur, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Khayrullāh and father of Muḥammad Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Nāṣim Jang the senior, IV. 55, 97; III. 3.
- Abdul-Ḥakīm Khān Bahādur Jalālūd-Dawla Sardār Jang, son of Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 102.
- Abdul-Ḥamid Khān, III. 144.
- Abdul-Ḥamid Khān Bahādur and Sarfarāz Khān Bahādur, sons of Ḥazrat-i-ʿAlā by one mother, II. 10.
- Abdul-Ḥamid Khān I'tiṣāmūl-Mulk, III. 56.
- Abdul-Ḥamid Khān I'tiṣādūl-Mulk, a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Nawwāb Zēbūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 89.
- Abdul-Ḥayy, son of Abdul Qādīr, I. 8.
- Abdul-Ḥayy Khān, a title of Ghulām Muḥiyyūd-Dīn, II. 9; IV. 65.
- son of Naṣīrūd-Dawla Bahādur II by Ḥamidūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 95.
- father of Badrūd-Dīn Husayn Khān Bahādur, IV. 89.
- appointed *qilḍār* at Kanjī, II. 228.
- āmīl, at Kanjī, II. 248.
- Abdul-Ḥayy Khān Bahādur, father of Ḥamidūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 91.
- Abdul-Ḥayy Khān Natthū-Miyān, father-in-law of Aḥmad Husayn Khān Bahādur Muḥiyyūd-Dawla, IV. 81.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Abdul-Hayy Khān Natthumiyān, father in law of Muḥammad Anṣārullāh, IV. 102.
- Abdul-Husayn, III. 63.
- Abdul-Husayn Khān, III. 15.
- conferment of titles on, III. 8.
- marriage of, III. 9.
- Abdul-Husayn Khān Bahādur, son of Sulṭān-un-nisā Bēgam, III. 29.
- Abdul-Jalil Khān, the *sardār* of the horses on the right wing of Haḍrat-i-Aḷā's army, I. 122.
- Abdul-Karīm, son-in-law of Muḥammad Hayāt Qādir Ḍlī Khān, III. 99.
- conferred the title of Khān Bahādur by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 57.
- Abdul-Karīm Khān, II. 63 *f.n.*
- Abdul-Karīm Khān Bahādur, son of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 20, 56.
- son of Nawwāb Wālājāh II and Kulthūm Bī, *m.* the daughter of Muḥammad Hayāt Qādir Ḍlī Khān Bahādur, IV. 68, 69.
- death of, II. 67.
- Abdullāh, a descendant of Fakhrud-Dīn, appointment of, as the *qāḍī* of Badhāwān, IV. 58.
- Abdullāh, son of Ḥasan Muṭhannā and father of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, IV. 56.
- Abdullāh Akbar, the eldest son of Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, I. 2.
- Abdullāh-al-Ḥasan, Daryā Bēgam, a junior sister of, II. 9.
- Abdullāh Aṣghār, a descendant of Abdullāh Awsaṭ, I. 5.
- Abdullāh Awsaṭ, descent of, into Bukhārā, I. 4.
- shifted to Bukhārā, I. 5.
- Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, Sultan of Golconda, I. 90 *f.n.*
- father-in-law of Abul Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, I. 99 *f.n.*
- Abdullāh Wāḡz Aṣghar, son of Abul-Fataḥ Wāḡz Akbar and father of Masūd, IV. 56.
- Abdullāh Wāḡz-i-Ṣaghīr, son of Shaykh Abul-Fataḥ Wāḡz-i-Kabīr, and father of Shaykh Mas'ūd, IV. 54.
- Abdul-Laṭīf Khān, brother of Mustaqīm Jang and father of Muḥammad 'Ināyatullāh, IV. 107.
- Abdul-Laṭīf Khān Bahādur, son of Ḥāmid Ḍlī Khān, *m.* Afzal-un-nisā Bēgam, IV. 90.
- Abdul-Maḷī Khān, deliverance of, obtained by Haḍrat-i-Aḷā. II. 2.
- Abdul-Ma'būd Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Ishāq Khān Bahādur, sons of Haḍrat-i-Aḷā by one mother, II. 10.
- Abdul-Ma'būd Khān Jamshīd Jang, III. 19, 46, 49.
- a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 86.
- Abdul-Majīd Khān, II. 67; Nawwāb of Savanur and Bankāpur, II. 37 and *f.n.*
- Abdul-Malik, Caliph, I. 65.
- Abdul-Qādir, successor of Muḥammad Lar, I. 8.
- Abdul-Qādir, wounded Nawwāb Sirājūd Dawla Bahādur, I. 147.
- Abdul-Qādir-al-Jilānī, known as Haḍrat Maḥbūb Subḥānī, III. 16 *f.n.*
- Abdul-Qādir Khān (Amīrud-Dawla Amīr Jang Bahādur), son of Karīm-un-nisā Bēgam, wives and children of, IV. 102-03.
- Abdul-Qādir Khān Bahādur, III. 15, 19, 22, 24, 43, 46, 56.
- nephew of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 89.
- conferred upon, the title *Amīr Jang* by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 57.
- Abdul-Quddūs, fifth son of Haḍrat-i-Aḷā by Nawwāb Bēgam, II. 9.
- Abdul-Quddūs (Lāl Bādshāh), same as Nawwāb Naṣīrud-Mulk Intigāmud-Dawla Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur Ghazanfar Jang, IV. 64.
- Fataḥ Bēgam, junior to, II. 9.
- Abdul-Rahmān, a son of Khayrud-Dīn Khān I, IV. 97.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Abdūl-Rahmān, granted the title of Muẓaffar Khān, II. 63.
- Abdūl-Razzāq Khān Bahādur Zahīr Jang, a son of Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk, IV. 92.
- Abdūl-Salām (Ghulām 'Abidīn Khān Bahādur) son of Ghulām Pir, IV. 84.
- Abdūl-Ṣamad Khān Dilēr Jang Bahādur Naṣīrūd-Dawla II, children of, IV. 93-96.
- Abdūl-Ṣamad Khān Dilēr Jang Naṣīrūd-Dawla Bahādur II, son of Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk and Lāḥī Bēgam, *m.* Hamidūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 91.
- Abdūl-Subhān Khān Shahīd, son of Khayrūd-Dīn Khān I, IV. 97.
- Abdūl-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, Nuṣrat Jang (Shukōhul-Mulk), II. 69, 71, 129, 213, 249, 275.
- fourth son of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur (Sirājūd-Dawla), I. 31, 109.
- Commander of a Risāla, I. 48.
- ordered by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur to march with his contingents against Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, I. 139.
- granted the taluk of Nellore by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 127.
- talukdār* of Nellore, IV. 61 *n.*
- left Nellore for Haydarābād on hearing of his father's death, II. 1-2.
- a boon companion of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, II. 22.
- sent by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā along with Captain Cope against Madura, II. 24 *f.n.*
- march of, towards Haydarābād, II. 25.
- and the defeat of the French at Wandwāsī, II. 33-6.
- sent for by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, II. 61.
- Chittore granted to, II. 174.
- blockade of, to the march of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān to Natthar-nagar, II. 82-5.
- Abdūl-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur and Karāchūrī Nand Raj and Murari Rao, II. 100-102.
- and Ḥaydar Ali Khān, II. 103, 104.
- appointed *nā'ib* to the *niẓmat* of Arcot, II. 150; deprived of his office, II. 151.
- appointment of, to the *niẓmat* of Arcot, II. 175.
- exalted by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, II. 173.
- letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā to, II. 216-17.
- and the battle at Frangikūnda, II. 219-222.
- readiness of, to loot the fugitive, II. 225.
- received George Becket and Colonel Cootc, II. 226.
- and the defeat of M. Lally at Kanji, II. 226-8.
- strengthening of the temple at Kanji and the appointment of Abdūl-Ḥayy Khān as *qildār*, by, II. 228.
- encampment of, near Arcot, II. 228-9.
- letter to, by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, II. 231.
- directed by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā to defend Chandragiri, II. 237.
- Abdūl-Wahhāb Khān Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Nuṣrat Jang Bahādur, Nawwāb, second son of Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur and Fakhrūn-nisā Bēgam Shāhiba, IV. 61, 62.
- Abdūl-Wājid Khān, son of Muḥammad Murād, *m.* the second daughter of Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān and Bibi Shāhiba, IV. 60.
- Abdūl-Walī (Ghulām Ḥusayn) II. 8; Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Muḥsul-Mulk Asadūd-Dawla Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur Dhul-Faqār Jang, son of Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Khadija Bēgam, *m.* Dulārī Bēgam shāhiba, IV. 63.
- Abdūl-Walī, name of the son of Muḥammadatūn-nisā Bēgam, who died within a week of his birth, III. 98.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Abdül-Wālī, brother of Abdül-Hādī, *m. Daryā Bēgam*, II. 9.
- Abdül-Wālī Khān, son of Ghulām Pīr Khayrūd-Dīn Khān II and son-in-law of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 103.
- Abdūr-Nabī Khān, II. 67.
- Sardār* of Cuddappah ordered by Nawwāb Nigāmūd-Dawla to capture Chennapattan and Devnampatan, I. 125.
- the *nāzim* of Kurnool, conspiracy of, to improve the position of Hidāyat Muhiyyūd-Dīn Khān, II. 37-42.
- nāzim* of Cuddappah appointed to subjugate Devnampatan, II. 48 and *f.n.*
- the *nāzim* of Cuddappah. II. 57, and *f.n.*
- grant of *jāgīr* to, II. 63.
- Abdūr-Rahīm Khān, son of Shaykh Abdül-Wāsi', *m. Amīra Bēgam* the first daughter of Muḥammad Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur and Fakhrūn-nisā Bēgam šāhiba, IV. 61.
- a brother-in-law of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, appointed to collect *Pēshkash* from the *Pālayagārs*, I. 131-2.
- sent to Nellore to advise Muḥammad Najibullāh Khān Bahādur, II. 178.
- Abdūr-Rahmān, same as Ḥaydar Jang, II. 179 *f.n.*
- Abdūr-Rahmān (Mīr Šāhib), II. 189.
- Abdūr-Rashīd Khān Bahādur son of Muḥammad Najib Khān Shahīd, order of, to the Nellore treasury, II. 14.
- fort of Salambar entrusted to, II. 244.
- Abdūr-Razzāq Alī Khān, II. 108.
- 'Abida Bēgam ('Umda Bēgam), grand-daughter of Sayyid Muḥammad šāhib, marriage of, with Muḥammad Karīm, IV. 43-5.
- 'Abida Bēgam, *d. of* Mīrzā Alī Bakht Bahādur, *m. Abdül-Qādir Khān*, IV. 103.
- 'Abid Khān Tāhir, *see* Aḥmad Khān Tāhir, I. 110.
- 'Abid Šāhib, I. 137 *f.n.*
- Abrār Khān, II. 87; appointed to defend Chennapattan, II. 193.
- Abu'l-Fataḥ, I. 4.
- Abu'l-Fataḥ Wā'iz Akbar, son of Ishāq and father of Abdullāh Wā'iz Aṣghar, IV. 55.
- Abu'l-Fidā, I. 90.
- Abu'l-Ḥasan Khān, made a *qiltadār*, II. 246.
- Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, (Tānā Shāh), dethroned by Awrangzēb, I. 99 *f.n.*
- Abu'l-Ḥasan Tānā Shāh Pādshāh, same as Abu'l-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh I. 99 and *f.n.*
- Abu'l-Ma'ālī Khān, younger brother of Anwar Alī Khān, entrusted with the *talūq* of Madura by Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur, I. 129.
- imprisonment of, I. 146.
- Abū Ishāq, the origin of the Chishtī traced to, III. 14 *n.*
- Abu Ja'far Muḥammad bin Jarīr (Al-Ṭabari), the Arab historian, I. 64-5 *f.n.*
- Abu Lulu, stabbed 'Umar Ibn-al-Khattāb, I. 2.
- Abū Ṭalīb Khān, father of Alī, III. 163.
- conferred the title of *Bahādur*, III. 57.
- Abū-Turāb Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Ḥuṣayn Khān Bahādur, sons of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, by one mother, II. 10.
- Abū Turāb Khān Shujāat Jang Bahādur, a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Lāl-maḥall, IV. 88.
- Abyssinians, II. 268, III. 46, 139; horsemen, III. 49.
- Adam, I. 1.
- Adhoni, II. 229, 230.
- Adoni, I. 136, 142.
- 'Adil Shāh, Mullāh Aḥmad, an Amīr under, I. 65.
- 'Adil Shāh II, of Bijāpūr, Ferishta in the court of, I. 7-8 *f.n.*
- Adyākūpam, (Ariyankuppam), II. 136, 258, 259.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Aelomon** (Allemaine, Germany), letter from the Governor of, to the Nawwāb of the Carnatic, I. xxvii.
- Afzalūd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān**, imprisonment of, I. 146.
- Afghans**, wickedness of the, in Arcot, and expulsion of the, from the Carnatic Payanghat, I. 110.
- Afranja**, (French), I. 96.
- Afrāsīyāb**, an ancient king celebrated in Persian poetry, II. 17 and *f.n.*, 207.
- Afzalūd-Dīn Khān** sent to Nellore to advise Muḥammad Najībullah Khān Bahādur, II. 178.
- Afzalūd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān**, son of Khayrūd-Dīn Khān I, IV. 98.
- deliverance of, obtained by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 2.
- Afzalun-nisā Bēgam**, *d.* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Zebun-nisā Bēgam, *m.* Abdūl-Laṭīf Khān Bahādur, IV. 90.
- Afsarun-nisā Bēgam** (Amatūl Khadija Bēgam), IV. 76, 77.
- Aḥmad**, III. 27.
- Aḥmad the select**, Praise of, III. 2.
- Aḥmad Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur Muḥiyyūd-Dawla**, son of Aḥmadī Bēgam and A'izzūd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang *m.* the daughter of Mumtāzul-Umarā Bahādur and later the daughter of Abdūl-Ḥayy Khān Natthū Miyān, IV. 81.
- Aḥmadī Bēgam**, IV. 82.
- Aḥmadī Bēgam**, daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Lāli Bēgam, *m.* Ashrafun-nujabā Abdūl-ʿAlī, IV. 74.
- Aḥmadī Bēgam (Shāh Bēgam)** daughter of Nawwāb Sulṭānunnisā Bēgam, *m.* A'izzūd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang, and mother of three sons and three daughters, IV. 81.
- Aḥmadī Bēgam**, *d.* of Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk and Allāh Rakhī Bēgam, *m.* Jabbār Miyān, IV. 92.
- Aḥmad Khān Tāhir** ('Abid Khān Tāhir) father of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir, I. 110.
- Aḥmad Nizām Shāh**, father of Burhān Nizām Shāh, I. 81 *f.n.*
- Aḥmad Shāh Abdali**, invasion of India by, I. 38 *f.n.*
- Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh**, I. 136.
- letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā to, on the condition of the Carnatic, II. 27.
- farmān* of, to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 34-6.
- letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā to, regarding the death of Nawwāb Naṣir Jang, II. 61-2.
- arrival of a *farmān* from, to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā which contained the news of the grant of the title of Umdatul-Mulk to him, the confirmation of his authority over the kingdom of the Carnatic, and his appointment as the *na'ib* to the *Wasir* of the Deccan, II. 79-81.
- arḡdāsh* to, from Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 127.
- imprisonment of, II. 144-5 and 144 *f.n.*
- Aḥmadullāh**, son of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur, *m.* the *d.* of Qawī Jang, IV. 106.
- Aḥmadullāh Khān Bahādur Muntazimūd-Dawla Nabī Yār Jang**, IV. 72.
- Aḥmadun-nisā Bēgam**, (Shāhīb-Zādī Nūrul-Baṣar) *m.* Abdūl-Qādir, IV. 70.
- Aḥsanūd-Dīn Khān**, a title of Muḥammad Ḥasan, II. 63, 114, 123.
- a relation of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, *m.* Sayyid Bēgam, II. 6.
- the *fawjdar* of the French, II. 85, 177.
- defeat of, at Samiwāram (Samayavaram), II. 111-113 and *f.n.*
- advice of, to Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, II. 120, 121.
- Ain-i-Akbari**, I. 15 *f.n.*
- A'izzūd-Dīn Khān**, son of Nizāmūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, *m.* Fāṭima Bēgam, IV. 86.
- Ajam**, (Persia), I. 97; Fataḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the Pādshāh of, IV. 82.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

- Akbar, Emperor, I. 21; III. 14 *n*;
Pādshāh, IV. 58.
- Akbar Ali Khān, a son-in-law of Ali
Dōst Khān, I. 69.
- Akbar Ali Khān Haydarī, brother of
Khadija Bēgam, IV. 86.
- Akramūn-nisā Bēgam, *m*, Ghulām
Rasūl Khān, IV. 77.
- Alaf Khān, II. 48 *f.n.*
- 'Alam Ali Khān, (Alam Khān), con-
quest of Tinnevely and Madura
by, II. 69-70 and *f.n.*
- (leader of Husayn Dōst Khān's
army) death of, at the battle near
Elumisaram, II. 106 *f.n.*; 108-9.
- 'Alamgīr, I. 59 *f.n.*
- Alamgīr, Murshid Qulī Khān *nāgim*
of Bengal under, II. 15 *f.n.*
- 'Alamgīr II, youngest son of Jahān-
dār Shāh and successor of Aḥmad
Shāh Pādshāh, II. 144 *f.n.*
- Alexander, I. xxii *f.n.*
- Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet,
III. 14 *n*.; fourth Caliph of Islam,
II. 7*n*; III. 167 *n*; husband of
Fāṭima, IV. 16 *n*.
- verses composed in praise of,
III. 26-7.
- installation of the banner of, III.
140.
- erection of the standard of, III
170.
- raising of the standard of, dur-
ing the month of Muḥarram, III.
180.
- Ali, the son of Fakhrūd-Dīn Aṣghar,
and his descendants, residents of
Kanauj, I. 6-7.
- Ali, son of Abū Ṭālib, III. 2, 2 *n*. ;
3 *n*.
- Ali Dil Khān Bahādur, III. 16, 23;
IV. 114.
- Ali Dōst Khān, Nawwāb, *Nigāmat*
of, in Arcot, I. 69-74.
- and the French, I. 97.
- Al-Idrīsī, I. 90.
- Ali Gawhar Shāh 'Alam Pādshāh,
grant of the title *Amīrūl-Umarā*
by the court of, to Muḥammad
Munawwar as a reward for his
services in the subjugation of
Tanjore. II. 8.
- Ali Gawhar Shāh 'Alam Pādshāh,
coronation of, as the Emperor of
Hind and letter of Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḷā
to, II. 272; Praise of the Nawwāb,
and grant of the title of Wālājāh
to him by, II. 273.
- Ali Husayn (Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur),
III. 161, 163; IV. 68.
- Ali Husayn Khān, punishment of,
III. 83-4.
- Ali Mardān (Nuṣrat Ali Khān), III.
157.
- Shāh 'Alimullāh ṣāhib, III. 63,
116, 182.
- Ali Murtaẓā, III. 17.
- Ali Nawāz Khān Bahādur, III. 18, 47,
102.
- dignified with the title of Bahā-
dur and appointed *qiludār* of
Muḥammadpūr, III. 93.
- 'Aliya Bēgam, *d.* of Amīrūd-Dawla
Bahādur, *m.* Ḥaydar Husayn Khān
Bahādur Imtiyāzūd-Dawla, IV. 81.
- Allāh Rakhī Bēgam, wife of
Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-
Dawla Bahādur, IV. 64; Children
of, IV. 91-2.
- Allemaine (*see* Aclomon), I. xxvii.
- Al-Ṭabarī (Abū Ja'far Muḥammad
bin Jarīr), the Arab historian, I.
64; 64-5 *f.n.*
- Alyanūr, II. 215.
- Amatūl-Batūla Bēgam ('Umdatūn-
nisā Bēgam), *d.* of Ghulām Pīr, *m.*
Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, IV.
84-5.
- Amatūl-Khadija Bēgam, (Afsarūn-
nisā Bēgam), first daughter of
Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Bahādur,
m. I'tiẓādūd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥam-
mad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur, IV. 76-
77.
- Amatūl-Ruqayya Bēgam *d.* of
Ghulām Pīr, *m.* Taqī Husayn Khān
Bahādur, IV. 85.
- Amatūl-Sakīna Bēgam, daughter of,
Nawwāb Naṣīrūl-Mulk Bahādur
and Shādī Bēgam, *m.* Bāqir Husayn
Khān Bahādur, IV. 79, 80.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Amatūl-Zahrā Bēgam** (*Khurshīd Kulāh Bēgam*), *d.* of Nawwāb Sayfūl-Mulk Bahādur, *m.* Majdūd Dawla Bahādur *Ghulām Asadullāh Khān*, IV. 76-7.
- Amatūl-wālī Walīn-nisā Bēgam**, *d.* of Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur by *Shafi'ūn-nisā Bēgam*, IV. 71.
- Ambur**, battle of, II. 24 *f.n.* and 110 *f.n.*
- Ambūrgadh**, I. 145; Muḥammad Husayn *Khān Tāhir*, the *jāgirdār* of, I. 140.
- Ambūrgadh**, battle of, II. 1.
- Amīna Bī**, the Turkan-mahall of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, and mother of Luṭfūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 88.
- Amīn Bēg Khān**, II. 215.
- Amīnūd-Dīn Khān**, (Bahādur), III. 26, 30, 64, 154, 158, 163.
- conferred the title of Bahādur, III. 57.
- consolation offered by, to Malikūn-nisā Bēgam, III. 90.
- Aminullāh**, a son of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 107.
- Amīr-i-Khāss**, II. 15.
- Amīra Bēgam**, first daughter of Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn *Khān Bahādur* and Fakhrūn-nisā Bēgam *Shāhiba*, *m.* 'Abdūr-Rahīm *Khān*, son of *Shaykh 'Abdūl-Wāsi'*, IV. 61.
- Amīr Bēgam** (Rābi'a Bēgam), IV. 106.
- Amīr Khān**, I. 58 *f.n.*
- Amīrūd-Dawla** (Bahādur) **Amīr Jang Bahādur**, (*Abdūl-Qādir Khān*), IV. 103.
- Amīrūd-Dawla Bahādur**, III. 51, 101, 102, 110, 148, 161, 170, 180, 182; IV. 2, 14, 46, 48.
- Muḥammad Kifāyatullāh in the service of, III. 127, 128.
- father of Taīdūd-Dīn Akbar, IV. 75.
- father of 'Alīya Bēgam, IV. 81.
- father of Taqī Husayn *Khān Bahādur*, IV. 85.
- Amīrūd-Dawla Taqī Husayn**, *d.* of, married to *Ghulām Muḥammad Husayn*, IV. 73.
- Amīnūd-Dīn Khān**, son of Muḥammad Munīrūd-Dīn *Khān*, III. 25.
- the *Dārūgha* of the *Dīwān-khāna* of the *Pādshāh*, I. 33.
- Amīrūd-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb 'Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur**, *see* *'Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur*.
- Amīrūd-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb 'Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur**, inscription on the signet of 'Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 11.
- Amīrūd-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb 'Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur**, the title of *Khurshīdūl-Mulk Shāhibūd-Dawla Jalādat Jang Bahādur* conferred by, on Muḥammad Karīm *Khān Bahādur*, III. 4.
- Amīrūd-Hind Umdatūl-Mulk Sirājūd-Dawla Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang Nawwāb Wālājāh I**, son of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Muḥammad Jān-i-Jāhān Anwarūd-Dīn *Khān Bahādur Shāhāmat Jang*, *Shabadār* of the Carnatic, *see* Muḥammad 'Alī *Khān*, IV. 59.
- Amīrūd-Hind Wālājāh Umdatūl-Umarā Nawwāb 'Azām Jāh Bahādur**, the title of *Khurshīdūl-Mulk Iftikhārūd-Dawla Muḥammad Nāsir Khān Bahādur Shamsām Jang* conferred by, on Muḥammad Karīm *Khān Bahādur*, III. 4.
- Muḥammad Karīm *Khān Bahādur*, honoured by, III. 4.
- Amīrūd-Mulk Muḥammad 'Alī Husayn Khān Bahādur**, conferment of titles to, III. 58, 59.
- marriage of, III. 11.
- provision of a building for the residence of the mother of, III. 68.
- conferred the title of Nawwāb *Tājul-Umarā Umdatūl-Mamālik Amīrūd-Mulk* by Nawwāb *Umdatūl-Umarā Bahādur*, III. 70.
- Amīrūd-Umarā Bahādur**, (*Hāfiz Muḥammad Munawwar* or *Munnu Miyān*) second son of Muḥammad

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Ali Khān Bahādur Amīrūl-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh I and father of Aḡimūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, IV. 55, 67.
- Amīrūl-Umarā Bahādur a title of Muḥammad Munawwar, I. 59 n.; II. 8, 158, 211; III. 148.
- styled, Nawwāb Amīrūl-Umarā Madārūl-Mulk Rōshanūd-Dawla Muḥammad Munawwar Khān Bahādur Jang, *diwān* of his father, m. Aḡimūn-nisā Bēgam Šāhiba, IV. 63.
- Amīr Jang Bahādur, a nephew of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 58.
- Amīr Nawāz Jang Bahādur, the *Mīr-sāmān*, the *kachahri Khān-sāmānī* under the care of, IV. 34.
- Ananda Ranga Pillai, I. 119 f.n.
- Angrēsi-dārul-inshā*, III. 44, 45, 56.
- Anwar, genealogy of the family of, III. 8, 12.
- Anwar Ali Khān, contest of, with Munīrūd-Dīn Khān inside the fort of Trichinopoly, I. 128-130.
- Anwariyya*, the name of the family of Hāji Muḥammad Anwar, IV. 53.
- Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡlā, the most blessed in the family of, II. 5.
- Anwarnagar, a name of Tinnevely, II. 215.
- Anwar Nāmā*, I. 31n, IV. 60, 113.
- a work of Mīr Ismāʿīl Khān Abjadī, III. 5, 40.
- the history of the family of Anwar, written by Mīr Ismāʿīl Khān Abjadī, I. xxv-vi.
- occasion for the composition of, I. xxviii-xxxii and xxxii f.n.
- Anwarūd-Dīn Khān, Nawwāb Shahīd II. 8, 20; 49n, 91, 126.
- Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, son of Muḥammad Anwar Hāji Muqaddas, IV. 59-60; 113.
- residence of the ancestors of, in the town of Bukhāra, I. 4-5.
- Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, residence of the ancestors of, in Kanauj, I. 6-7.
- fawjdār* successively of Chica-cole and the Carnatic, I. 23 f.n.
- appointed to succeed Khwāja Abdullāh Khān to the *ṣūba* of Arcot, I. 83 f.n.
- huns* of, I. 99 f.n.
- letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡlā to, II. 22.
- visit of, to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡlā, II. 23-24.
- construction of the fort of Saādātbandar by, II, 138 f.n.
- son-in-law of Shaykh Abdūl-Wālī, and father of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 97.
- Muḥammad Kamāl brought up in the family of, IV. 47.
- appointment of Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang as the *ṣubādār* of Trichinopoly, by, IV. 60n.
- wives and children of, IV. 60-1.
- Arabia, II. 13.
- Arasama Nayak, I. 101 f.n.
- Arcot, capital city, I. 57; II. 30, 37, 41, 156, 173, 185, 193, 201, 217, 226n, 233, 256; III. 111; IV. 108, 110.
- same as the *ṣūba* of Dārūn-nūr-Muḥammadpūr, I. xxvi.
- struggle for the control of, I. 23.
- Shaykh Abdullāh the *mufī* of, I. 23.
- ṣūba* of, entrusted by Aṣaf Jāh to Khwāja Abdullāh Khān, I. 48.
- niḡamat* of, Khwāja Abdullāh Khān, given leave to go to, I. 51.
- Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, appointed to the *niḡamat* of, I. 51-57.
- foundation and history of the city of, in the Carnatic Payanghat, I. 58-60.
- history of the former Niḡāms of, I. 60 f.n.
- coins, minted at, I. 99 f.n.
- niḡamat* of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Anwarūd Dīn Khān, in, I. 106.
- wickedness of the Afghans in, I. 110.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Arcot, Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ **Khān** appointed to the *niḡmat* of, through the diplomacy of Rāja Sampat Rai, I. 132-35.
- Jāmi'-masjid at, I. 147.
- Hidāyat Muḥiyyud-Dīn **Khān** at, II. 1-2.
- entrusted to Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ **Khān** Bahādur, II. 42.
- defeat of Riẓā 'Alī **Khān** at, II. 91-3.
- taken by Muḥammad Madīna 'Alī and Lord Clive, II. 89-90 and *f.n.*
- Mīr Madīna 'Alī **Khān**, the *nā'ib* of the *ṣūba* of, II. 137, 138.
- Bhujanga Rao's assistance to Clive in the siege of, II. 49 *f.n.*
- Abdūl-Waḥḥāb **Khān** Bahādur appointed *nā'ib* to the *niḡmat* of, II. 150.
- stay of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā at Arcot for some time, II. 173-4.
- Mīr Asadullāh **Khān**, appointed *nā'ib* to the *niḡmat* of, II. 174.
- Abdūl-Waḥḥāb **Khān** appointed to the *niḡmat* of, II. 175.
- Sirājūd-Dawla made *niḡam* of, II. 177.
- Riẓā 'Alī **Khān** placed on the throne of, II. 202.
- flight of M. Lally to, II. 228.
- encampment of Abdūl-Waḥḥāb **Khān** and Colonel Coote near, II. 228-9.
- Mīr Asadullāh, reappointed *nā'ib* of the *ṣūba* of, II. 237.
- stay of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā at, II. 248-52.
- Asadullāh **Khān**, *nā'ib* of the *ṣūba* of, II. 265.
- appointment of Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādur as *ṣubadār* of, III. 10.
- Ruknūd-Dīn **Khān** made the *fawjdār* of, III. 60.
- Ḥusāmūl-Mulk, appointed *ṣubadār* of, III. 86-7.
- 'Alī Nawāz **Khān** appointed *qiltadār* of, III. 93.
- Arcot, Ḥusāmūl-Mulk, appointed permanent *ṣubadār* of, III. 116.
- visited by A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, IV. 22.
- 'Ābida Bēgam, a resident of, IV. 43.
- Ghulām Ḥasan Nawwāb Ḥusāmūl-Mulk appointed *ṣubadār* of, IV. 64.
- Mīr Asadullāh **Khān** Bahādur the *nā'ib* of the *ṣūba* of, IV. 143.
- Aristūjāh A'zamūl-Umarā, minister of Niḡām 'Alī **Khān**, imprisonment of, III. 135 *n.*
- Aristotle, wisdom of, I. xxiii.
- Ariya(n)kuppam, II. 191, 256 *n.*, 257 *n.*, 260 *n.*, 266 *n.*
- flight of the French towards, II. 258; taking of the fort of, by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and Colonel Coote, II. 259-60.
- Arkuppam, granted to the English East India Company, I. 99.
- Armagaon, I. 100 *f.n.*
- Arni, II. 77 *f.n.*
- Arshad Bēg **Khān**, II. 249; sent by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā and his capture of Wandwāsi, II. 230-32.
- and the defeat of the French at Wandwāsi, II. 234-6.
- directed by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to accompany Mīr Asadullāh **Khān**, II. 237.
- Arzānī Bī, *d.* of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt, *m.* Khayrūd-Dīn **Khān** I, IV. 97.
- Asad **Khān**, the grant of three old villages by, to the English, I. 101 *f.n.*
- Asadūd-Dīn **Khān**, III. 18.
- Asadullāh **Khān**, II. 249.
- Asadullāh **Khān** Bahādur, Mīr, grand-father of Mīr Khurshīd Ḥasan Mūsawī, IV. 13.
- Aṣaf Jāh, Nawwāb, I. 41, 42, 45, 46, 138, 139, 141, 142, 147; II. 37, 40, 56, 67, 144, 176, 179, 181; IV. 59-60.
- (Niḡāmūl-Mulk), the founder of the present Hyderabad State, I. 37 *f.n.*; history of the dynasty of, 37-38 *f.n.*

HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

- Aṣaf Jāh**, in the Deccan, 38-40.
 —siege of Nattharnagar by, I. 43.
 —and the invasion of the Deccan by Pandit Pradhān, I. 47-51.
 —appointment by, of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur to the *nizāmat* of the *ṣūba* of Arcot, I. 51-57.
 —appointment of **Khawāja Abdul-lāh Khān** to the *nizāmat* of Arcot by, I. 80.
 —verse of, on the surname *putāni*, I. 81 *f.n.*
 —appointment of **Khawāja Abdullāh Khān** to the *nizāmat* of Arcot by, I. 82-84.
 —wars of succession on the death of, I. 113 *f.n.*
 —Hidāyat Muhiyyūd-Dīn **Khān** Bahādur (Muẓaffar Jang) a grandson of, I. 113.
 —sent a *farmān* to Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla to defeat Bābu Nāyak, I. 112; congratulated by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla after his success, I. 114.
 —recommendation of, to Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla that Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ **Khān** be appointed *nā'ib* to the *nizāmat* of the Carnatic, I. 133.
 —sons of, I. 135-6.
 —*wasir* of the Deccan, followed by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, II. 6.
 —grandfather of Ḥamīdūd-Dawla, II. 15.
 —Nawwāb Aṣafūd-Dawla, the eldest son of, II. 62.
Aṣaf Jāh II, Nawwāb (Nizām Ali **Khān** Bahādur), fourth son of Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh, *nā'im* of the Deccan, I. 136.
Aṣaf Jāh II, Nizāmūd-Dawla Bahādur (Nizām Ali **Khān**). II. 180; III. 11, 35 and *n.* 136.
Aṣaf Jāh, Nawwāb Nizāmūd-Mulk, court of, in the Deccan, I. 4.
Aṣaf Jāh Nawwāb Nizāmūd-Mulk Bahādur, '*indiyat-nāma* of, to Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur congratulating him on the marriage of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 121; death of, I. 135.
Aṣafūd-Dawla, Nawwāb, II. 136.
Aṣafūd-Dawla Ghāziūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang, a son of Aṣaf Jāh, I. 56.
 —poisoned by Ṣalābat Jang, II. 182.
Aṣafūd-Dawla Ghāziyūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang, Nawwāb, eldest son of Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh, *Nizām* of the Deccan, I. 135, II. 131.
 —letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to, II. 61-2 and *f.n.*; 79, 81-2.
 —letter of congratulation to, by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā on his appointment as the *nā'im* of the Deccan, II. 127.
 —reply of, to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 134-5.
 —murder of, II. 143-4 and 143 *f.n.*
 Asfandiyār, courage of, I. 108.
Ashraf Ali, III. 83, 84; son of Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Aẓīmūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 73.
Ashraf Bi, IV. 110.
Ashraf Shāh Shāhib, anniversary of, III. 143.
Ashrafūn-nisā-Bēgam, *d.* of Nawwāb Ḥusāmūd-Mulk Bahādur, *m.* **Ghulām Ḥusayn**, IV. 78, 79.
Ashrafūn-nujabā Abdūl-Ali *m.* as a second wife Aḥmadī Bēgam, IV. 74.
 'Ashūr Bēg, and the murder of Ḥusayn Dōst **Khān**, II. 124-25.
 'Ashūrī Lillāhī, III. 102.
 'Asiatic Alexander' Chinghiz **Khān**, I. 5 *f.n.*
 Awliya shāhib, favoured by A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV with the title of **Ḥafīẓullāh Khān** Bahādur *Ḥāfiẓ Yār Jang*, IV. 22.
 Awrangābād, I. 43, 55 *n.*, 135, 136, II. 14, 15, 28, 29, 67, 143 and *n.*
 Awrangazēb ('Ālamgīr Pādshāh), I. 36 *n.*, 43 *n.*, 62 *n.*, 90 *n.*, 138,
 —Muḥammad Hāshim in the service of, I. 14 *n.*
 —and Anwarūd-Dīn, I. 15-19.

- Awrangzāb 'Alamgīr Pādshāh, conferment of titles by, on Jān-i-Jahān, I. 33-8.
- appointment by, of Dhū'l-Faqr Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang to the Carnatic Payanghat, I. 59 and *f.n.*
- dethroned Abul-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, I. 99 *f.n.*
- honouring of Muḥammad Anwar and Shaykh Abdūl-Wālī by, IV. 58-9.
- A'zam, younger brother of Shāh 'Alam, I. 37 *f.n.*
- A'zam Jāh Amīrū'l-Hind Wālājāh, Nawwāb, rule of, III. 12.
- A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, IV. 37, 65, 66, 74, 79, 85, 87, 88, 113.
- son of A'zīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and father of Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh V, IV. 55; coronation of, III. 8.
- succession of, IV. 21 and *n*; pilgrimage of, to Nāgūr, IV. 22; benefactions of, IV. 23; death of, IV, 25 and *n*.; succeeded by his son Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur, IV. 27 and *n*.
- Qudratullāh Khān Bahādur appointed *mutawallī* to look after the tomb of, in *Jāmi' masjid*, IV. 31.
- Ḥafīẓullāh Khān Bahādur Ḥāfiẓ Yār Jang a friend of, IV. 38.
- took his wife from among the descendants of Fāṭima, IV. 42.
- the younger sister of the queen consort of, married by Nawwāb A'zīm Jāh Bahādur, the regent, IV. 42.
- children of, IV. 70-71.
- son of Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Sa'īdūn-nisā Bēgam, *m.* 'Ināyatūn-nisā Bēgam and father of Nawwāb Wālājāh V, IV. 74.
- A'zam Jāh Fakhrū'l-Umarā Bahādur, Nawwāb, (Muḥammad Munawar), IV. 70.
- A'zam Jāh Fakhrū'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, reception of, to Mirzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur, brother of Izid Bakhsh Bahādur, IV. 51.
- A'zam Nawwāz Khān Bahādur, IV. 35; appointed by Nawwāb A'zīm Jāh Bahādur the regent as the *mutawallī* of mosque, IV. 31.
- A'zamū'l-Umarā Mushīrū'l - Mulk Bahādur, III. 135.
- Azīma Bēgam, a *d.* of Ḥusaynī Bēgam, IV. 105.
- A'zīm Jāh Bahādur, the regent, III. 12; IV. 73, 74, 76, 78, 80, 83, 85, 90, 92, 94, 95, 102, 105, 110.
- son of Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Sa'īdūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 74.
- appointment of, to administer the kingdom during the minority of Nawwāb Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur, III. 8.
- brother and *diwān* of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, IV. 21.
- regency of, during the minority of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur, IV. 27 *n*.
- the Nawwāb regent, celebration by, of the 'urs of Budū Shahīd and Pīr Pahlawān ṣāhib, IV. 40.
- married the younger sister of the queen consort of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, IV. 42.
- reception of Mirzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur by, IV. 51-2.
- descendant of Muḥammad Munawwar in the sixth generation and of Ḥaẓrat Umar Fārūq in the twenty-ninth generation, IV. 53.
- A'zīm Jāh Sirājū'l-Umarā Bahādur (Muḥammad Alī), son of A'zīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Sa'īdūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 55, 70, 113.
- m.* the *d.* of Shukōhū'l-Mulk Mumtāzū'l-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 94.
- m.* Dulhan Bēgam, IV. 108.
- A'zīm Jāh Sirājū'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb, children of, IV. 71-2.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

- Āzīm Jāh Sirājūl-Umarā Bahādur**, Nawwāb, compilation of the *Sawānīhāt-i-Mumtāz*, at the command of, III. 4-7, IV. 116.
- Āzīmūd-Dawla Bahādur**, Nawwāb Wālājāh III, III. 7, 15, 20 n., 46, 178, IV. 8 n., 64, 65, 66, 68, 71, 75, 78, 79, 82, 83, 87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 102, 104, 108, 109, 111, 113.
- son of Amīrūl-Umarā Bahādur and father of (i) A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV and (ii) Āzīm Jāh Sirājūl-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Regent and Amrī-i-Arcot, IV. 5 n., 55.
 - coronation and reign of, III, 12.
 - and Nawwāb Muḥammad Ālī Wālājāh I, III, 23-4.
 - accession of, to the throne, III. 172 n.
 - coronation of, IV. 13-14.
 - chosen as the ruler of the Carnatic, III. 24 n.
 - grandson of Muḥammad Ālī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 14.
 - succeeded by Nawwāb A'zam Jāh Bahādur Wālājāh IV, IV. 21.
 - children of, IV. 70, 72-4.
 - suspected of having stolen two mangoes from the garden of the Governor, III. 155-6.
 - report of, about the developments in the palace, to Ra'isūl-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 5 n.
 - mourning of, over the death of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 8.
 - intimacy of, with Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 8.
 - invited by Colonel MacNeil to meet the Governor, IV. 9.
 - invited by Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur, but excused himself, IV. 9-10.
 - interview of, with the Governor, and his choice as Nawwāb, IV. 10-11.
 - congratulated by Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Bahādur, IV. 11-12.
 - rule and demise of, IV. 16-19.
- Āzīmūd-Dawla Bahādur**, Qudrat-ullāh **Khān** Bahādur appointed *mulawallī* to look after the tomb of, in *Jamī'masjid*, by IV. 31.
- Wajihullāh **Khān** Bahādur, a companion of, IV. 39.
 - celebration of the 'urs of Budū **Shahid** and Pīr Pahlawān ṣāhib prevalent in the days of, IV. 40.
 - visited by Mīrzā Tājūd-Dīn Bahādur, IV. 49.
 - visit of Mīrzā Ālī Bakht Bahādur with Mīrzā Izid Bakht Bahādur to, IV. 50.
- Āzīmūn-nisā Bēgam**, Madārī Bēgam, m. Nawwāb Amīrūl-Umarā Bahādur IV. 74; 91.
- Āzīmūn-nisā Bēgam d. of Badrūl-Islām Khān**, the *nikāḥ* wife of Āzīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and mother of two sons and a daughter. IV. 72-3.
- Āzīmūn-nisā Bēgam (Ṣāhib zādī Bēgam) d. of Āzīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Saifūn-nisā-Bēgam, m. Najmūl-Mulk Abdūl-Ṣamad Khān Bahādur** and mother of Aḥmadūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 70.
- Āzīmūn-nisā Bēgam (Khāṣṣ-maḥall), m. Amīrūl-Umarā Bahādur Madārūl-Mulk** and mother of Abdūl-Ālī **Khān** Āzīmūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 69.
- Āzīmūn-nisā Bēgam ṣāhibā**, the younger sister of Dulārī Bēgam ṣāhibā, m. Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Munawwar, styled Nawwāb Amīrūl-Umarā Bahādur IV. 63.
- Āziz Nawāz Khān Bahādur**, IV. 35.
- Āzizūd-Dawla Bahādur**, son of Jān-i-Ālam **Khān**, m. the d. of **Shukōhūl-Mulk Mumtāzūl-Umarā Bahādur**, IV. 94.
- Āzizullāh Khān Bahādur Ashraf Jang**, a companion of Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur the regent, IV. 38.
- Āzizul - mulk Mūtaminūd - Dawla Abdūl-Qādir Khān Bahādur Silāh Jang**, (Abdūl Qādir), m. Aḥmadūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 70.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Azizun-nisā Bēgam**, *d.* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Rai'sun-nisā Bēgam *m.* Badrūd-Dīn Husayn Khān Bahādur, IV. 89.
- Azizūd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang**, son of Hāmid Ali Khān, *m.* Aḥmadī Bēgam, IV. 81.
- B**
- Bābā Jān**, a pet name of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 161.
- Bābu Nāyak**, (Bāpūji Nāyak) I. 50; Sardār of the Mahrattas, 45-6 *f.n.*; defeat of, by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 45-47.
- defeat of, at the *qasba* Medak near Hyderabad, I. 47-51.
- fight of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur with, for a second time, I. 111-14.
- defeat of, I. 117.
- fight of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur with, I. 140.
- Bachnūbī**, mother-in-law of Ghulām Jilānī Khān through Fāṭima Bēgam the daughter of Najibullāh Khān, III. 122.
- Badāun**, history of the town of, I. 6 *f.n.*; Fakhrūd-Dīn Aṣghar appointed Qāzī over, by the Emperor of Delhi, I. 6.
- left by Ali, the son of Fakhrūd-Dīn Aṣghar, I. 7.
- Badhāwān**, IV. 58.
- badras** of money, II. 14.
- Badrul-Islām (Badrul Islām Khān Bahādur Afrāsiyāb Jang)**, son of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān, *naib-wazīr* in the court at Delhi, I. 30.
- Badrūn-nisā Bēgam**, daughter of Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Bahādur and Allāh Rakkhī Bēgam, *m.* Muḥammad Anwar Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Bahādur, IV. 64.
- mother of three sons and two daughters, IV. 75-7.
- mother of Nawwāb Sayfud-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 79.
- mother of Husāmūd-Dawla, IV. 92; death of, III. 79.
- Bādshāh Bēgam**, wife by *nikah* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 86, 87.
- Badē Shāhib**, (Zaynul-'Abidīn Khān) brother of Chanda Shāhib, placed in charge of Tanjore, I. 72 *f.n.*
- and the Mahrattas, and death of, I. 73-74.
- Badi'ullāh Khān Bahādur Zahirūd-Dawla Fiṭrāt Jang**, son of Nawwāb Aḡim Jāh Bahādur, IV. 72, *m.* Tāhirun-nisā Bēgam and another, IV. 72.
- Badrud-Dīn Husayn Khān Bahādur**, son of Abdul-Hayy Khān, *m.* 'Azizun-nisā Bēgam, IV. 89.
- Badrul-Islām Khān Bahādur**, IV. 61, 62; rebellion of the men in the army under, III. 22.
- the senior, mother's brother of Ghulām Muḥiyyūd-Dīn, IV. 65.
- father of Aḡimun-nisā Bēgam, IV. 73.
- father of Ghulām Nabī Khān Afrāsiyāb Jang, IV. 88.
- Badrul-Islām Khān Bahādur Afrāsiyāb Jang**, a son of Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur and Bibī shāhiba, IV. 60, 62.
- Badrul-Islām Khān Bahādur Afrāsiyāb Jang**, eldest son of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur *naib* to his father in the court of the Pādshāh, I. 109.
- mother's brother of Ghulām Muḥiyyūd-Dīn, II. 9.
- Bādshāh Bēgam**, wife of Nawwāb Wālājāh III and mother of Ghulām Abdūl-Qādir, IV. 74.
- Bāghdād**, I. 110, III. 14 *n.*, IV. 29 *n.*
- Bāghs**: Aḥmadī-bāgh (Bāgh-i-Kamtan), residence of Muḥammad Karim, IV. 44, 45.
- Amīr-bāgh, (Sāgh-i-Kuhna), III. 17 and *n.*, 18, 25, 30, 31, 33, 34, 59, 67, 68, IV. 11, 13.
- Aḡim-bāgh, IV. 38.
- Bāgh-i-Kalān**, III. 180; the banner of Ali installed in, III. 140.
- Bāgh-i-Kamtan**, same as Aḥmadī-bāgh, IV. 44.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Bāgh-i-Khāss**, III. 81, 82, 118, 137, 149, 152, 163, 176, IV. 7.
- Bāgh-i-Kuhna** (Amīr-bāgh).
 —**Hafiz-bāgh**, IV. 38.
 —**Ināyat-bāgh**, the bungalow of Brajdās Mudali, IV. 48.
 —**Kuhna-bāgh** (Muḥammad-bāgh).
 —**Muḥammad-bāgh** (Kuhna-bāgh), III. 25, 30, 33, IV. 114, 115.
 —**Muḥammad-bāgh**, **Bāgh-i-Kuhna**, later known as, III. 17.
 —**Mahbūb-bāgh**, III. 11, 159.
 —**Mubārak-bāgh**, III. 171, 175; purchased by Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādūr from Colonel Barrett, III. 87.
 —**Roshan-bāgh**, III. 69, 80, 81, 82.
 —trip of Nawwāb Aḡim Jāh Bahādūr, the regent to, IV. 40-41.
 —**Wālājāhī-bāgh**, III. 61, 69.
- Bahādūr**, title of, conferred by Awrangzēb on Anwarū'd-Dīn, I. 19.
- Bahādūr**, a title of Muḥammad Najīb-ullāh Khān, II. 42.
- Bahādūr Shāh**, I. 59 *f.n.*, 62 *n.*
- Bahār-i-Aḡamjāhī**, a Persian work of Ghulām Abdu'l-Qādir Naḡir, IV. 22 *n.*
- Bahlū'l-Khān**, II. 37.
- Bahrām Jang Bahādūr**, III. 10, 55, 70, 71, 72, 78, 82, 117, 121, 125, 130, 134, 140, 141, 163, 164, 170, 173, 174, 177, 180, 182, 183, 184; IV. 2, 5, 7 *n.*, 48.
 —and the punishment of Ja'far Ali, III. 83-4.
 —**vakil** at the marriage of Naṣir-ud-Dawla Bahādūr, III. 126.
 —one with the title of, in the service of Mīr 'Alam, III. 137.
 —a title of Qādir Nawāz Khān, III. 137, 138.
 —in charge of the arrangements of the marriage festivities of Ra'isu'l-Umarā Bahādūr, III. 61, 62, 63.
 —and the construction of Fataḥ-Chawki, III. 67-8.
- Bahrām Jang Bahādūr**, entertainment of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr by, III. 101-2.
 —recommendation of, to Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr for the release of Ḥashmat Jang Bahādūr, III. 103.
 —and the marriage of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādūr, III. 108-117.
 —and the market held round about Sabzbangla, Mubārak-Chawki and the big *Diwān-Khāna*, III. 118-20.
 —message sent by Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr through, to Ghulām Jilānī Khān, III. 123, 124.
 —asked by Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr to take the coffin of Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh I to Nattharnagar, III. 131-3.
 —arrangements for break-fast by, at the *dargāh* of Pīr Pahlawān Shāhib, III. 141-2.
 —arrangements of, for the visit of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr to the *dargāh* of Budū Shāhid Shāhib, at Frangikonda, III. 142.
 —and the excursion of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr to the Pulimādavaram tank, III. 147-59.
 —and Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr's trip to Frangikonda, III. 160-63.
 —order to, regarding the coronation of Tāju'l-Umarā Bahādūr, IV. 6.
 —dismissal of, IV. 17.
- Bahū Bēgam** (Nawwāb 'Ināyatunnisā Bēgam), IV. 70-71.
- Bahzad**, II. 260.
- Bailpet**, granted to the English East India Company, I. 99.
- Baji Rao**, the Peshwa, IV. 10.
- Bakhshī Bēgam Shāhiba**, the wife of Nawwāb Nizāmud-Dawla Bahādūr, III. 36.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Bakhshī Bēgam, d. of Khurshīd Bānū m. Muḥammad 'Ināyatullāh, IV. 107.**
- Bakhshī-i-Awwal, Anwarūd-Dīn appointed Pēshkār to the, I. 16.**
- Bakht Bānū, daughter of Yazdajird, wife by nikāḥ of Shaykh Abdullāh and mother of Sālim, IV. 56.**
- Bakram (Vikravandi) II, 136, 137, 174, defeat of the English at, II. 133-4 and f.n.**
- Bālāghāt, I. 57, 58 f.n. 73, II. 256.**
—hereditary *Sanad* for the grant of, got by Ghulām Ḥusayn, II. 8.
- Balkh, the rise of the descendants of Muḥammad to the position of the Sultans of, I. 2-3.**
- Balkūdam (Volcondah?), Şāhib-nagar, grant of, to Muḥammad-atūn-nisā Bēgam, III. 92.**
- Balton, death of, at Kanji, II. 227.**
- Bamraj (Bommaraj or Bommarājāpalayam), II. 173 and f.n.**
- Bāndār, one who throws iron rockets in war, I. 109 and f.n.**
- Bangārkūnda, hill, II. 155, 161.**
- Bāqir 'Alī Khān, I. 77, eldest son of Ghulām 'Alī Khān and father of Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān, elected to the niẓāmat of Arcot, I. 69.**
- Bāqir Husayn Khān Bahādur, son of Nawwāb Wālājāh II by Chitar Bēgam, m. Amatūl-Sakīna Bēgam, IV. 79, 80.**
- Bāra-darī, III. 33.**
- Barakatūn-nisā Bēgam, d. of Nawwāb Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādur and Ḥabībūn-nisā Bēgam, m. Ḥusāmūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 78.**
- Barī bibī, wife by nikāḥ of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 44.**
- Barī Bī ṣāhibā (Ḥajānī Bī ṣāhibā), a Turkan Maḥall of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 90.**
- Barinda bāsh, I. 28.**
- Barkhur-dār, meaning of, I. 28.**
- Barrett, Mr.; Colonel III, 10, 18, 96, 104, 130, 147, 149, 152, 160, 164, 165, 168, 169, 173, 174, 184; honoured with the title of Major, by Nawwāb 'Umdatūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 70.**
—contrives to pay the *qist* and is made *dīwān*, III. 75-6.
—dīwānship of, III. 76-8, 103.
—Colonel Barrett Bahādur, the title conferred on Mr. Barrett by Nawwāb 'Umdatūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 76.
—and the appointment of Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādur as the *Ṣubādār* of Arcot, III. 86-7.
—advice of, with regard to the grant of titles to various persons, III. 93.
—and the appointment of Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur as the *fawj-dār* of Nellore, III. 105-07.
—and the marriage of Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 109-117.
—presence of, during the interview of Mīr 'Alam with Nawwāb 'Umdatūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 136.
—on the designs of Nawwāb Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam ṣāhibā, III. 171.
—and the posting of English guards in Fataḥ-chawki, III. 175-77.
—communicated the doctor's opinion to the nobles and the prince, III. 181.
—visit and return by, to Nawwāb 'Umdatūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 182-3.
—met by Mr. Josiah Webbe and Colonel MacNeil, IV. 1-2.
—*Dīwān* of 'Umdatūl-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 2 n.
—conveyed the message of the Governor of Madras to Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 2-3.
—advice of, to Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur on the meeting of Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur and the Governor, IV. 3-4.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Barrett, message sent through, to Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur to meet the Governor in the tent in *Bāgh-i Khāṣṣ*, IV. 7.
- report to, by Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur, about his treatment by the Governor, IV. 8.
- Basālat Jang Bahādur, fifth son of Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh, I. 136.
- younger brother of Ṣalābat Jang, II. 229 *n*.
- deceived and brought to Arcot by M. Bussy to help the French, II. 229.
- letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā to, and his reply to it, II. 229-30.
- Dhūl-Faḡār Jang sent along with M. Bussy by, II. 230.
- Bassein, treaty of, IV. 10 *n*.
- Bassu, name of the female dog reared by Nawwāb Dāwūd Khān, I. 63.
- Bastan (Yāsīn ?), same as Mubārak-ūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 73.
- Basw(v)apatan, battle of, I. 112, 113 *f.n.* 114 and *f.n.*
- Bātli, III. 44.
- Battely, Mr. appointed head of the *Angrēsi-dārūl-inṣhā*, III. 56.
- Baṭus, M. M. Lally joined by, II. 201.
- Bāva Sāhib, a son of Tukoji, I. 95 *f.n.*
- Baytullāh, 'the Sacred Mosque', at Makka, I. 17 and *f.n.*, III. 40, IV. 18, 65, 80, 82, 95.
- Becket, General, letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā to, II. 216.
- Bednore (Bednur), I. 136, 137 *f.n.*; history of, I. 113 and *n*.
- Bēgam Bahū, same as Maqbūlūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 83.
- Bēgamī-Jān Maḥall Khāṣṣ, *Khadīja* Bēgam, IV. 63.
- Bēgampūr, I. 43 and *f.n.*
- Bēlpūr (Villupuram), II. 32, 55, 129, 134, 136, 174.
- Benyon, Governor, embassy of, to Niḡāmūl-Mulk, I. 102 *f.n.*
- Beri Timmana, I. 100 *f.n.*
- Bhangārkūnda, II. 162, 163, 165.
- Bhujang Rao, brother of Murari Rao, death of, II. 149, 150.
- Bibī Faḡhrūn-nisā Bēgam ṣāhibā, wife of Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, IV. 60, 62.
- Bibī Faṭīma Ṣāhibā, a daughter of Muḥammad Anwar Ḥāji Muqaddas, *m.* to Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt, IV. 60.
- Bibī Maryam ṣāhibā, a daughter of Muḥammad Anwar Ḥāji Muqaddas, *m.* to Muḥammad Aṣaf, IV. 60.
- Bibī ṣāhibā, daughter of Shaykh Abdūl-Wālī, and grand-daughter of Shaykh Abdūl-Qādir, *m.* Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān, and mother of two sons and four daughters, IV. 60-62.
- Bibī Ujīyālī, a *d.* of Shaykh Abdūl-Wālī, IV. 97.
- Bijāpur, IV. 43.
- Bijapuri Carnatic, 58 *f.n.*
- Bikshandar Koil (Pachandārkūdī), siege and capture of, II. 114 *f.n.*, 116, 118 *f.n.*
- subjugation of, 117.
- Bin Faliqūs, (son of Philip) a name of Alexander, I. XXII *f.n.*
- Bismillāhkhānī*, the right of initiation, II. 5.
- Bismillāh Khwānī* of Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawṭh Khān Bahādur Amīrūl-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh V, festivities relating to, IV. 32 *f.n.*
- Black Town, II. 203 *f.n.*
- Bombay, III. 113, 114.
- Boscawen, admiral, II. 24 *n.*; took possession of San Thomē, I. 92 *f.n.*
- Brajdās Mudali, 'Ināyat-bāgh' the bungalow of, IV. 48.
- Brereton, II. 205 *n.*
- Brigadier General Joseph Smith (Captain Smith), III. 18.
- Bud(d)hī Bēgam (Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam). II. 211; III. 25; third daughter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā and Nawwāb Bēgam, *m.* Abdul-Hādī (Ṣamsāmūd-Dawla) nephew of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 9.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Budū Shahīd, (Sayyid Badrūd-Din), I. 92-3.
- Budū Shahīd Sāhib, visit of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to, III. 142-3.
- Budū Shahīd, *'urs* in memory of, IV. 40 and *n.*
- Būrhi Bēgam, same as Sultānūn-nisā Bēgam, third daughter of Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, *m.* Abdūl-Hādī Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Ṣamṣamūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 65.
- Bukhārā, descent of Abdullāh Awsaṭ to, I. 4.
- Bukhārā, residence in, of the ancestors of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn, I. 4-5.
- city in the Transoxiana, I. 6 *f.n.*
- settlement of Shaykh Ibrāhīm at IV. 56.
- Burhān, son of Ḥasan, commanded by Amīrūl-Hind Wālājāh I to write the *Tuzak-i-Wālājāhi*, I. XXVI.
- Burhānī Bēgam *ṣāhibā*, *d.* of Shukōhul-Mulk Mumtāzūl-Umarā Bahādur, *m.* Ḡhulām Ḥusayn Khān Sikandar Jang (Shāh Ashrafullāh), IV. 95.
- Burhān Niẓām Shāh, Pādshāh of Aḥmadnagar, I. 81 and *f.n.*
- Burhānpūr, capital of the Fārūqiyya Sultans, I. 3 and *f.n.*
- Burhānullāh Khān, *m.* the, *d.* of Shaykh Ḡhulām Aḥmad, IV. 98.
- Bussy, M., II. 66 *n.*, 143, 182, 190, 192, 205.
- Kurnool subjugated by, II. 48 *f.n.*
- capture of Jinji by, II. 53-4 *n.*, 110 *n.*
- an account of, II. 178-182.
- march of, from Chicacole, II. 188, 189 *f.n.*
- M. Lally joined by, II. 200.
- and the siege of Chennapattan, II. 204.
- fight and defeat of, at Frangikūnda, II. 218-19.
- on the subjugation of Chennapattan, II. 223.
- Bussy, M., Basālat Jang, brought to Arcot from Adhoni, by, II. 229.
- Dhul-Faḡār Jang, sent along with, by Basālat Jang, II. 230.
- advice of, to attack Wandwāsī, II. 232-3.
- made prisoner at Wandwāsī, II. 235, 237.

C

- Caillaud, engagement of, with the French, II. 220 *n.*
- Calcutta, IV. 50.
- Carnatic, I. 124, 138, 143, II. 12, 29, 30, 40, 48 *n.*, 122, 141, 156, 169, 171, 174, 185, 192, 201, 210, 215, 230, III. 7, 12, 61, 85 *n.*, 136, 174, IV. 4 *n.*, 8 *n.*, 14, 15, 17, 22, 59, 61.
- Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān, Fawajdar of, I. 23 *f.n.*
- division of the, among the brothers of Ḥaḡrat-i-Aḡā, II. 42.
- niẓāmat* of the, promised to Riḡā Alī Khān by M. Lally, II. 190.
- division of the, among four rulers, II. 202.
- throne, III. 52.
- transfer of certain portions in the, asked of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur by Lord Wellesly Mornington Bahādur, III. 114-15.
- designs of the Frangs on the, III. 175.
- Carnatic Payanghat, I. xxvii and *f.n.*, xxviii, 42, 45, 57 and *n.*, 60, 62 *n.*, 73, 82, 90, 93, 96, 106, II. 79, 176, 197.
- Arcot in the, I. 58.
- under the authority of the *ṣūba* of Dārūn-nūr Muḥammadpūr, I. xxvi.
- niẓāmat* of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn in the, I. 23.
- expulsion of the Afghans from the, I. 110.
- division of the, by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur among his sons, I. 127.
- hereditary title of the, given to Ḡhulām Ḥusayn, II. 8.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Casa Verona (Kasi Veeranna, Veerappa), *alias* Hasan Khān, I. 100 and *f.n.*
- Catherine Aurora, the name of Şāhib Bēgam Bībī Şāhiba, changed in to, III. 136 *n.*
- Ceylon, flight of Riṣā 'Alī Khān to, II. 267 *n.*
- Chanda Şāhib (Husayn Dōst Khān) I. 70 *n.*, 72 *f.n.*, 137 *n.*, 138, II. 28 *n.*, 33 *n.*, 58 *n.*, 85 *n.*
- capture of Trichinopoly by, 82-3 *f.n.*
- and the French, I. 97.
- march of, from Phuḷcheri along with Hidāyat Muḥiyyū'd-Dīn Khān and flight of, back to that place, II. 32-34.
- death of, II. 130 *f.n.*
- Chandragiri, Raja of, I. 98. *see* also Raja of Payanghat.
- 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān asked by Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḷā to strengthen the fort of, II. 237.
- fort of, III. 28.
- Nuṣrat 'Alī Khān taken prisoner to the fort at, III. 157.
- Charlotte, Queen of George III. II. 249 *n.*; 250 *n.*
- Chawki.
- Fataḥ-chawki, III. 17, 18, 19, 21, 29, 59, 63, 65, 77, 80, 82, 83, 87, 89, 110, 115, 116, 120, 121, 129, 130, 144, 145, 163, 164, 167, 175, 177, 181, IV. 2, 5, 6, 15.
- construction of, in the place where Wālājāhī dārūl-amārā was situated, III. 10, 67-9.
- daily routine of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur in, III. 69.
- guarding of, by English soldiers, III. 176.
- guards appointed to keep watch over, IV. 7.
- Mubārak-Chawki, III. 11, 87, 118, 119, 120.
- construction of, III. 88-9.
- Mubārak-chawki, same as Rōshan-chawki, III. 91.
- Mubārak-chawki, later known as Rōshan-chawki, III. 10.
- Rōshan-chawki, Mubārak-chawki later came to be known as, III. 10, 91.
- Ch(a)ouh* (fourth part), I. 46, 49, 51, 72, 73 and *n.*
- Chenam-nayak-kuppam, granted to the English East India Company, I. 99.
- Chengēz Khān, conquests of, IV. 57.
- Chenji, (Ginji), II. 53, 61, 62, 93, 95, 130, 139.
- flight of M. Lally to, II. 236 and *n.*
- Chennapatan (Madras), I. 98, 124, II. 21, 76-7, 90, 97, 105, 158, 159, 178, 191, 193, 212, 213, 214, 219, 231, 237, 248, 249, 254, 271, 272, IV. 109.
- tumult caused at, by Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān, I, xxvi.
- three *kurōh* from Farangi-konda I. xxxi.
- siege of, by the French, I. xxxii *f.n.*
- order of the Nawwāb for the building of the fort of, I. 104.
- capture of, by the French, and its restoration to the English, I, 104, 105.
- occupation of, and the defeat of Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān at, by the French, I. 114-16.
- release of, from the French and its restoration to the English, I. 117; 126-7.
- subjugation of, by Dupleix, I. 125.
- order of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang to drive away the English from, II. 48.
- Lawrence sent to, II. 128.
- Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḷā at, II. 173, 174.
- idea of the French to subjugate, II. 177.
- siege of, II. 181.
- chosen by Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḷā for his residence, II. 183.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Chennapatan (Madras), conquest of the fort of, by M. Dupleix, II. 185.
- residence of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā at, II. 190.
- decision of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to strengthen the forts of, and Nattharnagar, II. 192, 193.
- intention of M. Lally to subjugate, II. 200-03.
- strengthening of, by George Becket, II. 203.
- siege of, by M. Lally, II. 203-8.
- reduction of, to difficulties by M. Lally, II. 208-09.
- army sent under Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān to, II. 215 17.
- intrenchment and the siege of, II. 219-21.
- siege of, by M. Lally and his failure, II. 226.
- march of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to, II. 246-7.
- the black stone pillars taken away to Pondicherry by M. Dupleix, restored to, II. 272.
- Chetp(u)at, a *jāgir* of Mīr Asadul-lāh Khān, I. 75 and *f.n.*, 107, 118; II. 70, 77 *n.*, 129 *n.*
- Chettupat, entrusted to Rīzā 'Alī Khān by M. Sapīr, II. 190.
- fort at, cleared of the French, II. 232.
- Chicacole (Sikākūl), I. 22-3 *n.*, 40, 42; II. 176, 181, 188, 200.
- niḡdamat* of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān at, I. 22-3, 26, 27.
- got by the French from Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang, the ruler of the Deccan, I. 97.
- Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla *nāgim* of, II. 6;
- Nawwāb Shāhīd, *nāgim* of, II. 37.
- Chidambaram (Salambar), II. 152, 172.
- battle of, II. 31 and *f.n.*
- taken by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā from the French, II. 244.
- capture of, by Colonel Coote, II. 253 *n.*
- Chīnā Mudali, III. 106.
- Chindādīri (Kadpākam), I. 102-03.
- Chīnī Bāzār, battle of, II. 205-06, 205 *n.*
- Chi(e)ngīz Khān rule and oppression of, I. 5 and *f.n.*
- Chingleput, II. 203 *n.*, 216 *n.*, 217, 222.
- birth place of Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī, I. xxviii.
- capture of the fort of, by Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the French from the son of Ṣaff Shikan Khān and its retaking by Tahmāst Khān, II. 42-45 and *f.n.*
- brought under the control of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 138 and *f.n.*
- strengthening of, under the command of Muḥammad Murād, II. 203.
- Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā at, II. 246.
- Chinna malai, Little Mount, I. 91 *f.n.*
- Chin Qilich Khān, I. 101 *f.n.*
- Chishtīyya family, III. 14 and *n.* 15.
- Chitar Bēgam, *nikāh* wife of 'Umdatu'l-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, mother of Ghulām Bāqir Ḥusayn Khān, IV. 68, 69, 79.
- Chittore, grant of, to Abdūl-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, II. 174.
- Chōṭī Bēgam, Ḥaẓrat Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam known as, III. 25, 53, IV. 96.
- Chōṭī Bēgam, *see* Kamu Bēgam, IV. 61.
- Chōṭī Shāhib-zādī, a name of 'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam, III. 25.
- Clarke, Captain, II. 87 *f.n.*
- Clive, Lord, the elder, II. 8, 14 and *n.*, 83 *n.*, 84 *n.*, 87, 112-3 *n.*, 115, 118 *n.*, 128-9 *n.*, 133, 138 *n.*, 149 *n.*, 216 *n.*, 273, III. 19 *n.*
- Governor of Madras, III. 17 *n.*
- taking of Arcot by, II. 89-90 and *f.n.*
- repulse by, of the invasion of Arcot and Arni by Rīzā 'Alī Khān, II. 91-6.
- went to Nattharnagar on summons, II. 104-6.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Clive, success of, near Elumisaram against Husayn Dōst Khān and the French, II. 106-9 and *f.n.*

—capture and release of, II. 111-3 and *f.n.*

—dispatched to subjugate the forts of the French, II. 137-8.

—sent to Calcutta, II. 183, 183.

Clive Edward (son of the first Lord Clive), Governor of Madras, III. 151 *n.*; IV. 1 *n.*

—Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur's visit to, III. 151-2.

—theft of two mangoes from the Governor's garden and the punishment of the culprit, III. 154-158.

—message of, to Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 2-3.

—meetings of, with Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 7-8.

—invitation of, to Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur for an interview, IV. 9.

—interview of, with Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 10-11.

Close, Colonel, Sir Barry, IV. 7*n.*, 10 and *n.*

Columbus, Christopher, voyage of, I. 87-89 *f.n.*

Conjeevaram, II. 43 *f.n.*

Coodpauk—same as Chindādiripetta, I. 103 *f.n.*

Coote, General Sir Eyre, I. 124, 125; arrival of, in Chennapattan, II. 225.

—received well by Abdūl-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān Bahādur, II. 226.

—and the defeat of M. Lally at Kañji, II. 226-8.

—encampment of, near Arcot, II. 228-9.

—letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, to II. 231.

—and the defeat of the French at Wandwāsī, II. 233-6.

—instructed by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, to stay at Wardāwūr, II. 237.

—inspection by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā of the army under the command of, at Wardāwūr, II. 246.

Coote and the defeat of the French at Phulcheri and Yalānūr (Villiyanalur), II. 252 8.

—capture of Valudavur, Villiyannallur country, Villupuram, Chidambaram and Vriddhāchalam by, II. 253 *n.*

—and the subjugation of Yalānūr, II. 258.

—taking of the fort of Adyākūpam and Wadgara by, II. 259-61.

—and the defeat of M. Lally at Tadpan, II. 261-2.

Cope, Captain, II. 24 *f.n.*, 69 *n.*, 87, 90 *n.*, 100.

—wounding of, II. 101.

Cornwallis, Lord, treaty signed by, with Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh, III. 54 and 54-5 *f.n.*

Count d'Estaing, same as M. Kandistān, II. 187.

Cuddapah, Nawwābship of, II. 48 and *f.n.*

—Abdūn-Nabī Khān, the *nāzim* of, II. 57.

D

Dabrīl M. (Duvelaer?), M. Lally joined by, II. 201.

Dādē(i) Shāh Sāhib, III. 35, 36, 143

—*bāgh* of, IV. 49.

Dāk, III. 80.

Daknī risāla, I. 132.

M. Dalārs (Guillard?) M. Lally joined by, II. 200.

Dalavayi Devarāja, II. 128-9 *f.n.*

Dalavay Venkatacharya, I. 70 *f.n.*

Dalton, Captain, II. 83 *f.n.*, 106-7*n.*, 110*n.*, 118*n.*, 129*n.*, 133*n.*, 145*n.*

Damalchāru, (cherue), I. 72; II. 65, 178.

Damalcheruvu pass, I. 83*n.*

Damarlawar, the *samindār* of Palaya Kalastri, *dīvān* of the Rājah of Payanghat (Chandragiri), I. 98-99.

Dānishmand Khān, II. 87; sent along with Sayyid Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān to capture Tiyaḡgadh, II. 238.

Dārā Shukōh, war of, with, I. 15.

Darbār-i-'Am, I. 30.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Dargāh Qulī Khān, III. 90, 102, 154, 158, 163.
 —a witty person in the court of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur III. 26.
 —conferred the title of *Bahādur* upon, III. 57.
- Darīb, Colonel, II. 205.
- Dārinda bāsh*, I. 29
- Darius, I. xxii; the authority of Amīrul-Hind Wālājāh, compared to that of, I. xxiii.
- Dārūgha, Superintendent, I. 26, 33.
- Dārul-ʿadlat-i-ʿāliya*, Mufti Umdatul-Ulamā Badrud-Dawla Bahādur in charge of, IV. 34.
- Dārul-Amāra*, I. 128, 130, 134.
- Dārul-inshā*, II. 11.
- Dārul-inshā-khāss fārsī*, Muḥammad Karīm, the nāzir of, IV. 35.
- Dārūn-nāṣir, surname of Trichinopoly, I. 60; II. 163, 164, 165.
- Dārūn-nūr-Muḥammadpūr (Arcot) a *ṣūba*, I. xxvi, 60; III. 111; IV. 43.
- Dārūz-zafar, a surname of Tajāwar I. 60
- Daryā Bēgam, Malikun-nisā Bēgam known as, III. 25.
 —fourth daughter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā and Nawwāb Bēgam m. to Abdur-Walī younger brother of Abdur-Hādī, II. 9; IV. 65-6.
- D' Auteuil (M. Datil), II. 53 n, 110, 112 n.
 —grant of titles to, II. 63.
 —French commander, march of, to Walkandahpur, II. 110 and f.n., 106, 114-116 and f.n.
 —M. Lally joined by, II. 200.
 —imprisonment of, II. 259.
- David Baird, III. 133 n.
- Dawlatun-nisā Bēgam, same as Lālī Bēgam, IV. 73.
- Dawlatun-nisā Bēgam, d. of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Zēbun-nisā Bēgam, m. Faẓl Ḥusayn Khān, IV. 90.
- Dāwūd Khān Panni, an Afghan, II. 122.
 —*niḡamat* of, in Arcot, I. 62-64, 62 f.n.
- Dāwūd Khān, appointment of Saʿādatullāh Khān to the *niḡamat* of Arcot, by, I. 64 and f.n.
 —threatened the safety of Madras from San Thome, I. 92 f.n.
 —and the English East India Company, I. 100 f.n.
 —and the grant of the five new villages to the English East India Company, I. 101 f.n.
- De Leyrit (M. Liri), successor of M. Dupleix at Pondicherry, II. 171.
- Delhi (Shāhjahānābād), I. 14 f.n., 21; IV. 57.
 —Emperor of, appointed Fakhruddīn Qāzī over Badāūn, I. 6.
 —seven Muhammadan cities in, I. 12 f.n.
- Denkumar (Denmark) letter from the administrator of, to the Nawwāb of the Carnatic, I. xxvii.
 —people, coming of the, to India, I. 93 and f.n.
- D'Estaing, II. 205 n.
- Dev(w)asampattan (Fort St. David) I. 107; II. 41, 64, 76-7, 90, 105, 134, 158, 159, 172, 181, 209, 222, 269, 27'-2.
 —occupation of, by the French, I. 115.
 —release of, by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, I. 117-126
 —order of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang to drive away the English from, II. 48.
 —reached by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 148.
 —subjugation and devastation of, by Lally, II. 191, 194-5.
 —subjugated and devastated by M. Lally, II. 226.
- Devikottah, II. 18 n, 196 f.n.
- Dharmāsam Mudali, surety of, to Ḥaṣḥmat Jang Bahādur, III. 103.
- Dhāt*, a rank, I. 36 f.n.
- Dhobibanda, II. 155.
- Dhul-Faqār, name of a two edged sword of Ali, I. 61.
- Dhul-Faqār Jang, sent by Basālat Jang with M. Bussy, II. 230.
 —slain at Wandwāsī, II. 235-6, 237.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Dhul-Faqār Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang** (Amīrul-Umarā) in the Carnatic Payanghat, I. 59 and *f.n.*
 —and the foundation of Arcot, I. 59-60.
 —subjugation of Payanghat and the town planning of Arcot achieved by, I. 60-61.
 —generosity and benefits of, I. 61-62.
 —Arcot under direct relationship with Delhi from the days of, I. 82.
 —grants of, to the English, I. 101 *f.n.*
Dhul-Qarnayn, a title of the two Alexanders, I. xxii *f.n.*
Dilāri (Dulāri) Bēgam ṣāhiba, (*Khāṣṣ-maḥall*), daughter of Nawwāb **Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣirūd-Dawla Bahādur** and Lār Bēgam ṣāhiba, *m.* **ʿAbdul-Walī alias ʿUmdatul-Umarā Muṣṭafī-Mulk Asad-ud-Dawla Ghulān Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur Dhul-Faqār Jang**, III. 32; IV. 63, 91.
 —children of, IV. 68.
Dilāri Bibi ṣāhiba, daughter of Qāzi Muḥammad Saʿid and wife of **Shaykh Muḥammad Munawwar**, IV. 59.
Dilāwar Khān, governor of Sīra, shared in the wars of succession on the death of Aṣaf Jāh, I. 113 *f.n.*
 —the *amīr-i-khāṣṣ* of Muḥammad **Shāh Pādshāh**, II. 15.
Dilār Jang Bahādur Nawwāb (**Shukōhul-Mulk**) **Naṣirūd-Dawla Bahādur** II, III. 110.
Diwān-i-Aṣfārī, a work of Mirzā ʿAlī Bakht Bahādur, IV. 48 *n.*
Diwān-i-khāṣṣ, II. 244.
Diwān-khāna, I. 33-4; III. 21.
Diwān Moropant, II. 28 *f.n.*
Diwāns, I. xxxi.
Diwān Sarāi, I. 30.
Diyaṭ, I. 44, 45.
Ḍiyāʿud-Dīn Khān, the steward of the household of Emperor **Shāh ʿĀlam**, I. 101 *f.n.*
Draper, II. 205 *n.*
Dulāri Bēgam, *see* **Dilāri Bēgam**.
Dulhan Bēgam, *d.* of **Khān-i-ʿĀlam Khān Bahādur**, *m.* **Aḡīm Jāh Bahādur**, IV. 108.
Dumas, Governor, II. 63 *f.n.*
Dundas, President of the Board of Control of the British East India Company, III. 55 *n.*
Dupleix, M. II. 28 *n.*, 53 *n.*, 63 *n.*, 64, 65 *n.*, 133, 135, 137, 147 *n.*, 166 *n.*, 174, 190, 223.
 —capture of Chennapatan by, I. 118.
 —*ḥrsdāshī* of, to **Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā** and his reply, I. 119-120; 119 *f.n.*
 —attack of Devanampatan by, I. 125.
 —begged excuse of **Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā**, I. 126.
 —and **Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān**, I. 138.
 —met by **Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān** at Pondicherry to devise plans to subjugate **Nattharnagar**, II. 2-3.
 —grant of *jāgīrs* and titles to, by **Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān**, II. 62.
 —letter of, to **Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā**, and the reply for it, II. 129-32.
 —instigation of **Karāchūri Nand-raj** by, for the grant of the post of Trichinopoly, II. 145 and *f.n.*
 —blamed by M Godeheu for creating trouble in the Carnatic, II. 171.
 —petition of, to the king of France recapitulating his achievements, and asking for approbation, and his varnished account of India, II. 185-86.
 —the house of, at Pondicherry, II. 270.
 —black stone pillars carried away from Chennapatan to Pondicherry by, II. 272.
Darūd, II. 11, 12.
Durgadas Khān, **Qiladār** of Chingleput, II. 43 *f.n.*
Durrans (Afghans), I. xxvii.
Dutch (Walandez, *Hollanders*), coming of the, to India, I. 94-96 and *f.n.*

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

E

- Edward Clive. *See* under Clive.
- Egmore, got from Dāwūd Khān by the English East India Company, I. 100.
- Elavanasur(ore), occupied by the French, II. 189 *n*.
- capture of, by Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, II. 216 *n*.
- promise of the grant of, to Haydar Ali Khān by the French, II. 253 *n*.
- Elayanur, II. 26.
- Ellore, Fataḥ Bēgam, born on the day of the conquest of, II. 9.
- Elumisaram (Erumbesvaram), defeat of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the French near, II. 106-09 and *f.n*.
- Ekaji, *see* Venkāji, I. 95 *f.n*.
- England, letter from the king of, to the Nawwāb of the Carnatic, I. xxvii.
- English, friendship of the, with Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, I. 97.
- honoured with favours by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, I. 107.
- army, expelled from Tiruvithi by Nawwāb Niẓāmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, I. 125.
- help by the, to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 41-42.
- order of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang for driving out the, from Devanampattan and Chennapattan, II. 48.
- help of the, sought by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 76-8.
- soldiers, the Fataḥ-chawki guarded by the, III. 176-8.
- English East India Company, history of the, I. 97-106.
- Epilogue, IV. 113-16.

F

- Fakhrūd-Dīn, son of Shuṭayb and brother of Sulaymān the *qāṣī*, IV. 58.
- Fakhrūd-Dīn Aḥmad Nasīmān Shāh Pādshāh, grandson of Shaykh Sulaymān, Sulṭān of Kābul, IV. 57.

- Fakhrūd-Dīn Akbar, a descendant of Abdullāh Awsaṭ, I. 5.
- Fakhrūd-Dīn Aṣghar, a descendant of Abdullāh Awsaṭ, I. 5; appointed *qāṣī* over Badāūn by the Emperor of Delhi, I. 6.
- Fakhrūn-nisā Bēgam ṣāhiha, (Qādir Bī), *d.* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Zēbūn-nisā Bēgam *m.* Fayz Muḥammad Khān Bahādur, IV. 89-90.
- two sons and two daughters of, IV. 61, 62.
- Fāknar Mr. (Major Fitzgerald), III. 73 and *n*.
- Farangī merchants and Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, I. 107.
- Farangī-konda (St. Thomas Mount), I. 91 and *f.n.*, 104.
- encampment of the forces of the Nawwāb at, I. xxxi-xxxii; *xaxi f.n.*
- Farḥatūn-nisā Bēgam. *d.* of Nawwāb Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādur *m.* Quṭbūd-Dīn Ali Khān, IV. 78-79.
- Faridūn, a celebrated king of Persia, I. xxii and *f.n.*; the dignity of Amīrūl-Hind Wālājāh compared to that of, I. xxiii.
- Farkhunda Bunyād Ḥaydarābād, a *ṣūba* administered by Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān, I. 23.
- appointment of Jān-i-Jahān Khān to the *niẓmat* of the *ṣūba* of, by Muḥammad Shāh Pādshāh, I. 42.
- Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā incharge of the *ṣūba* of, I. 112.
- Farrāshī, *sanad* of the, given to Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, I. 18 and *f.n*.
- Farrukh Shāh 'Adil, (Sulṭān Shihābūd-Dīn Aḥmad), IV. 54.
- Farrukh Siyar, Emperor, I. 14 *n*, 62 *n* 64.
- Farūq A'zam, (the Great Distinguished), a surname of 'Umar Ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb, I. 2.
- Fārūq-i-A'zam, father of Shaykh Abdullāh, IV. 54.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Fārūqiyya Sultans, the descendants of Umar became famous as, I. 3 and *f.n.* 4 *f.n.*
- Fataḥ Ali Shāh, the Pādshāh of Ajam, IV. 82.
- Fataḥ Bēgam ṣāḥiba, same as Nawwāb Umdatūn-nisā Bēgam, III. 4, 25; IV. 66.
- fifth daughter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā and Nawwāb Bēgam *m.* to Muḥammad Nāsir, younger brother of Mawlawī Abdul-Wālī Khān Bahādur, II. 9-10.
- Fataḥ Nāyak, father of Ḥaydar Ali Khān, II. 102.
- Fatāḥ pahārī, II. 155, 158, 160, 161.
- Fataḥ Singh, II. 92; invasion of South India by, I. 72.
- capture of Husayn Dōst Khān, by, I. 137.
- Fataḥ-lashkar, name of the horse on which Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā rode during his fight against the French at Devanampatan, I. 122.
- Fātiḥa, I. 27; II. 19.
- said in memory of Nawwāb Shahīd, I. 27 *f.n.*
- Fāṭima, daughter of Prophet Muḥammad, wife of Ali III. 2 *n*; 3. 26, 97, and mother of Imām Husayn, IV. 16 *n*.
- Fāṭima, the daughter of Imām Husayn, wife by *nikāḥ* of Shaykh Abdulāh and mother of Shaykh Nāsirud-Dīn, IV. 56.
- Fāṭima, marriages of Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk Nāsirud-Dawla Bahādur and Aḡam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV from among the descendants of, IV. 42.
- Fāṭima Bēgam, III. 122; daughter of Aḡimud-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Aḡimūn-nisā Bēgam, *m.* Ghulām Dastgīr Khān Bahādur, IV. 73.
- Fāṭima *d.* of Ḥāfiẓa Bēgam and Sādiq Ali Khān, *m.* Aḡizzud-Dīn Khān, IV. 86.
- Fattāḥ Shāh ṣāḥib, tomb of, near the cathedral mosque in Muthialpēt, III. 143.
- Fayyāḍ, I. xxiv.
- Fayz Muḥammad Khān Bahādur, son of Iḥsānullāh Khān, *m.* Fakhrūnnisā Bēgam, IV. 89-90.
- Fayzūn-nisā, *nikāḥ* wife of Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur, children of, IV. 105-06.
- Fayzūn-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, the wife of Mirzā Humāyīn Bakht Bahādur, friendship of, with Nawwāb Sultānūn-nisā Bēgam ṣāḥiba, IV. 47.
- Fazāl, English Doctor who operated upon Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 164, 165, 166, 168, 181, 182.
- Fazīlat Bī, the *nikāḥ* wife of Sayfu'l-Mulk Bahādur, mother of Ghulām Askarī, IV. 77.
- Fazīlatūn-nisā Bēgam *d.* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Lāl-Maḥall, *m.* Muḥammad Bāqir, IV. 88.
- Fazl Husayn Khān, younger brother of Najaf Ali Khān, *m.* Dawlatūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 90.
- Faḡlullāh Khān (Quadrat Raḥīm Khān), IV. 99.
- Ferdinand, king of Spain, I. 87 and *f.n.*
- Feringhipet (Portonovo), I. 99. *f.n.*
- Feringhipet, name of a coin, I. 99 *f.n.*
- Firinghycondah (St. Thomas Mount), I. 103 *f.n.*
- Feringhi's Hill Town (Farangikonda), I. xxxi *f.n.*
- Firishta (Mullā Muḥammad K(Q)asim Firishta), historian, I. xxviii, 7; 7-8 *f.n.*
- author of *Nawras nāma*, I. 62.
- Fīrūzshāh, Bahmani Sultar, II. 37 *f.n.*
- Fitzgerald, Major (Mr. Fāknar), III. 73.
- "Five new villages", I. 101 *n*, 102 *n*.
- Fort St. David, *see* Devanampattian, I. 107, 119 *n*, 121 *n*; II. 17 *n*, 24 *n*, 42 *n*, 43 *n*, 77 *n*, 87 *n*, 105, 191 *n*, 142, 203 *n*.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Fort St. David attempt to get the confirmation from Nāsir Jang of the grant of, II. 41-42 *f.n.*
- Fort St. George laid siege to, by M. Lally, IV. 65 *n.*
- Foss Westcott, II. 41 *f.n.*
- France, letter from the ruler of, to the Nawwāb of the Carnatic, I. xxvii.
- Frang merchants I. 57.
- Frangī, (European) merchants, settlement of the, in Arcot, I. 85-106.
- Frangikū(o)nda (St. Thomas Mount), II. 173. 183, 197, 202; III. 11.
- Hāzrat-i-A'lā joined by the *qil'dār* of Arcot, at, II. 189.
- encampment of M. Lally at, II. 203 and *f.n.*
- Muḥammad Yūsuf *Khān* at, II. 217.
- battle of, II. 218-21.
- George Becket welcomed Hāzrat-i-A'lā at, II. 246-7.
- the *dargāh* of Budū *Shahid* *Shāhib*, in the *bāgh* at, III. 142-3.
- trip of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to, III. 160-3.
- Frangistān, Europe, I. 86, 88, 89, 169.
- French, the, II. 17 *n.*, 38, 118, 210.
- (Afranja) coming of the, to India, I. 96-7.
- relations of the, with the Nawwābs of Arcot, I. 96-7.
- and the Nawāyat, I. 100-101.
- and Hāzrat-i-A'lā. and Chennapatan, I. 104.
- turbid minds of the, I. 107.
- occupation of Chennapatan and Devanampatan and defeat of Muḥammad Maḥfūz *Khān* Bahādur by the, I. 114-116.
- and Hidāyat Muḥiyyud-Dīn *Khān* Bahādur, I. 138 *ff.*
- invasion of Nāsir Jang's camp by the, II. 39.
- capture of the forts of Tiruvati and Chingleput and defeat of *Shāfi Shikan Khān* by the, II. 42-4 and *f.n.*
- French, attack of Jinji by the, II. 53-58.
- defeat of the, near Elumisaram, II. 106-9 and *f.n.*
- imprisonment of the, in Nattharnagar, II. 126.
- anxiety of Hāzrat-i-A'lā to drive out the, from the Carnatic, II. 127.
- subjugation of the forts of the, and their allies by Hāzrat-i-A'lā, II. 137-9.
- defeat of the, by General Lawrence, II. 162.
- entry of the, into the fort of Nattharnagar owing to the treachery of the *Shūbadār* of the place, and their imprisonment and loss of life, II. 165-68.
- peace of the, with Hāzrat-i-A'lā, 169-171 and *f.n.*
- prisoners, set free, II. 170.
- and the establishment of Hidāyat Muḥiyyud-Dīn *Khān* on the throne of the Deccan, II. 177.
- Friday, a government holiday, IV. 32.

G

- Garden House, II. 247.
- Gasīfī Bēgam, IV. 69.
- George II, II. 249 *n.*; 251.
- King of England granted a title to Muḥammad 'Alī *Khān* Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh, I. 30.
- letter of, to Hāzrat-i-A'lā, I. 124.
- advice of, for the suspension of hostilities, II. 225.
- George III, I. 97 *n.*, III. 71 *n.*
- letter of, to Hāzrat-i-A'lā, I. 124; II. 250-51.
- letter of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to, requesting for the recognition of the claims of Tājul-Umarā for the throne, III. 130-1.
- George IV, III. 71 *n.*, 130.
- George Henry Kalan, Sir, *bāgh* of, near the Maḥbūb Bāgh, III. 159.
- George Town (Patan), III. 168.
- George Becket, (Lord Pigot) II. 184, 213, 220, 252.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

- George Becket, Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā received by, II. 173.
- Governor of Chennapatan, request to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, by, for the removal of M. Bussy from the services of Nawwāb Ṣalābat Jang, II. 178.
- help of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to, II. 183-4.
- request of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā for help to Dewnampattan, and his reply, II. 191-3.
- advice of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to, II. 202-03.
- request of, to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā for help from Nattharnagar, II. 209-211.
- request of, to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā for help, and Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā sent to Negapatam by, II. 209-11.
- received well by Abdūl-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, II. 226.
- letter to, by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā II. 231.
- informed of the success at Wandwāsi, II. 236.
- asked to send ships to Pondicherry, II. 249.
- Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā welcomed by, at Frangikūnda, II. 246-7.
- dinner of, to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 247.
- honoured by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 248.
- misunderstanding of, with the Sardārs of the army, 254; removal of the misunderstandings, II. 269.
- Germany (Aelomon), I. xxvii.
- Ghazanfar Ali Khān, the risāladār of the horses of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, I. 108.
- Ghālib Khān, father of Mīr Abū Ṭālib Khān, I. 132.
- Ghanī'ūn-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Ḥusaynī Bēgam, IV. 105.
- Ghaṣīfī Bēgam, (Mubārak'ūn-nisā Bēgam), III. 21; wife by *nikah* of Nawwāb Wālājāh II; Tāj'ul-Umarā Bahādur, a son of, IV. 68, 91.
- Ghawth Muḥammad Khān, son of Ṣādiq Ali Khān, *m.* Sirāj'ūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 89.
- Ghazanfar Ali Khān, (Mīr Malang) II. 26, 71, 87, 160, 205, 205, 211, 260.
- appointed *sardār* of the cavalry by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, I. 131.
- sent from Nattharnagar to Silambar, II. 31.
- pursuit of Chanda ṣāhib by, II. 34.
- a servant of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, saves his master from Mu'tabir Khān Ṭāhir of Kanjangadh, III. 59-61.
- appointed to defend Chennapatan, II. 193.
- letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to, II. 216.
- fight of, against the French, II. 221.
- and the defeat of M. Lally at Kanjī, II. 227-8.
- and the defeat of the French at Wandwāsi, II. 233-6.
- commanded by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to associate with Colonel Coote, II. 237.
- welcomed Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā at Wardāwūr, II. 246.
- and the defeat of the French at Phulcherī, II. 253.
- and the subjugation of Yalānūr, II. 258.
- Ghāzi'ud-Dīn Khān Nawwāb, II. 179.
- Ghaznā, Kābul taken by the Sultāns of, but subsequently attacked by Chengēz Khān, IV. 57.
- Ghulām Abbās Ali (Sayf'ul-Mulk Anwar'ud-Dawla), son of Ghulām Khayrullāh, IV. 83.
- Ghulām Abdūl-Qādir, (Shams'ud-Dawla Ghulām Abdūl-Qādir Khān Bahādur I'tiẓād Jang) a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Bādshāh Bēgam IV. 74.
- Ghulām Abdūl-Qādir Naẓir, author of the Persian book *Bahār-i-A'ḡam jāhī*, IV. 22*n.*
- Ghulām Abdūl-Salām 'Abidīn Khān, senior brother of Ghulām Kāḡim

INDEX PARTS—I-IV

- and father-in-law of Haydarī Bēgam, IV. 83.
- Ghulām 'Abidīn Khān Bahādūr, same as Abdūl-Salām, IV. 84.
- Ghulām Aḥmad Khān Bahādūr, allāzī brother of Muḥammad Karīm, *m.* Rābi'a Bēgam, IV. 106.
- Ghulām Ali, original name of Abdūr-Razzāq Ali Khān, II. 108.
- Ghulam Ali, a Nāit and Awrangzēb, I. 65-66, 68-9.
- Ghulam Ali styled Sayfūd-Dawla Ghulām Ali Khān Bahādūr Sayf Jang, son of Nawwāb Sayfūl-Mulk Bahādūr, wives and children of, IV. 75, 77.
- Ghulām Ali, conferred the title of Ghulām Ali Khān Bahādūr Sayf Jang by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr, III. 57.
- Ghulam Ali Khān, father of Bāqir Ali Khān and Ali Dōst Khān, I. 69.
- Ghulam Al-i-Muḥammad, chronogrammatic name of Muḥammad Karīm Khayrūd Dīn Ḥasan Ghulām Zāmin, III. 3.
- Ghulam Al-i-Muḥammad Khurshīd-ul-Mulk Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Iftikhārūd-Dawlā Bahādūr, son of Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Iftikhārūd-Dawla Ṣamsām Jang Bahādūr and father of Naṣībūd-Dawla Bahādūr Iftikhārūl-Mulk, IV. 55.
- Ghulam Al-i Muḥammad Sāhibūd-Dawla *see* Ghulam Zāmin Muḥammad Karīm, IV. 85.
- Ghulam Anbiyā', a name of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 5.
- Ghulam Asadullāh same as Ghulam Khayrullāh, IV. 83.
- Ghulam Asadul āh Khān, III. 15, 29.
- son of Sayfūl-Mulk Bahādūr, III. 56.
- conferred the title of Muḥaffar Jang by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr, III. 56.
- Ghulam Asadullāh Khān conferred the title of Ruknūd-Dawla Bahādūr, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr, III. 57.
- Ghulam Asadullāh Khān Bahādūr (Muḥammad Ni'matullāh), IV. 105.
- Ghulam Asadullāh Khān Majdūd-Dawla Bahādūr, son of Abdūl-Wālī Khān, wives and children of, IV. 103 ff.
- Ghulam Ashraf Khān Bahādūr, son of Shaykh Abdūl-Hayy, IV. 60.
- marriage of the daughter of, with Ra'isul-Umarā Bahādūr Abdūl-Ḥusayn Khān, III. 36-7.
- Ghulam Askari son of Nawwāb Sayfūl-Mulk Bahādūr and Faẓilat Bī, IV. 77.
- Ghulam Awliyā, same as Muḥammad Ali, IV. 61.
- Ghulam Bāqir, son of Ghulam Pīr, IV. 84.
- Ghulam Bāqir Ḥusayn Khān, son of Nawwāb Wālājāh II and Chitar Bēgam, *m.* the daughter of Nawwāb Naṣirūl-Mulk Bahādūr by Shādī Bēgam, the wife by *nikāh*, IV. 68-9.
- Ghulam Dastgīr Khān Bahādūr, son of the first wife of Nāṣirūd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabibullāh Khān and junior grandson of Ikhtiyār Jang, *m.* Fāṭima Bēgam, IV. 73.
- Ghulam Ḥasan Khān Dilāwar Jang Bahādūr (Tippū Bādshāh), same as Nawwāb Ḥusāmūl-Mulk I'timādūd-Dawla Muḥammad Abdullāh Khān Bahādūr Hizhbar Jang, son of Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Lāl-maḥall, *m.* Ḥabībūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 64, 88.
- Ghulam Ḥasan, fourth son of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā by Nawwāb Bēgam, II. 8, 183.
- Buddhi Bēgam junior to, II. 9.
- Ghulam Ḥusayn, a noble of Gopamaw, *m.* Ashrafūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 78.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

- Ghulām Husayn, son of Sayyid Sajjād and Zinatun-nisā, IV. 76.
- Ghulām Husayn Khān Bahādūr Sikandar Jang (Shāh Ashrafullāh), *m.* Burhānī Bēgam, IV. 95.
- Ghulām Husayn, Nawwāb Umdatūl-Umarā, III. 28, 80, 92, 179-80.
- a son of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā by Nawwāb Bēgam, II. 7-8, titles of, II. 8.
- Mōi Bēgam, junior sister to, II. 9.
- appointed *nā'ib* of Nattharnagar, II. 241.
- Ghulām Imām Husayn Khān (Imām Ṣāhib Bakhshī) and the French, I. 96.
- Ghulām Imām Mahdī Muḥammadi Miẓān, birth of, III. 10.
- Ghulām Jilānī (*ṭiṣṭafā Aḷi Khān*), son of Ghulām Muḥrabā, IV. 101.
- Ghulām Jilānī Khān, *m. a d.* of Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān and Ikrāmūn-nisā, IV. 93.
- Ghulām Jilānī Khān Ikhtiyār Jang Bahādūr, marriage of the daughter of, with Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh Naṣīrūd-Dawla Khān Bahādūr, III. 121, IV. 85.
- Ghulām Jilānī Khān Suhrāb Jang, son of Ḥaydar Jang the senior, *m. a* daughter of Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān and Ikrāmūn-nisā, IV. 93.
- Ghulām Kāzim I'tiẓādūd-Dawla Bahādūr, *m.* Luṭfūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 83.
- Ghulām Kāzim, father of Riẓā Husayn, and junior brother of Ghulām Abdūl-Salām 'Abidīn Khān, IV. 83.
- Ghulām Kāzim Khān (I'tiẓādūd-Dawla), son of Ghulām Pīr, *m.* the *d.* of Ḥusāmūd-Dawla and later the *d.* of Majdūd-Dawla, IV. 84.
- Ghulām Khayrullāh (Majdūd-Dawla Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Bahādūr Muẓaffar Jang) son of Nawwāb Malikūn-nisā Bēgam, *m.* the younger sister of Sayfūd-Dawla Bahādūr, and became father of two sons and four daughters, IV. 83-4.
- Ghulām Muḥammad, son of Shaykh Ghulām Aḥmad, settlement of, at Syria, IV. 98.
- Ghulām Muḥammad (Munirūd-Dawla Ghulām Muḥammad Khān Bahādūr Jasārat Jang Bahādūr), son of Aẓīmūd-Dawla Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Lālī Bēgam, IV. 73.
- Ghulām Muḥammad, brought up by Afsarūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 77.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Alī, same as Muḥammadi Miẓān, III. 92.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Alī Naṣībūd-Dawla (Muḥammadi Miẓān), *m.* Maqbūlūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 83.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawṭh Khān Bahādūr, Nawwāb, descent of the right of succession to, III. 8. 12.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawṭh Khān Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh V, son of Aẓam Jāh Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, by Nawwāb 'Ināyatūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 34, 55, 71, 74, 113.
- the festivities of *bismillāh-khwānī* of, IV. 32.
- administrative training of, IV. 30-7.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Husayn, a son of Aẓīmūd-Dawla Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Aẓīmūn-nisā Bēgam, *m.* the daughter of Amīrūd-Dawla Taqī Husayn Khān Bahādūr by Kuqayya Bēgam, IV. 73.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, IV. 104.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, son of Ḥusāmūd-Dawla, *m.* Amatūl-Batūla Bēgam, IV. 84-5.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, a son of Shaykh Khayrullāh, wives and children of, IV. 97, 98.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Khān Bahādūr, a son of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 10.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Khān Bahādūr, son of Ghulām Waliullāh and Barakatūn-nisā Bēgam, *m.* the daughter of I'tiẓādūd-Dawla Bahādūr, IV. 76, 77.

INDEX PARTS—I-IV

- Ghulām Muḥammad Khān Qasūr Jang**, a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 87.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Maḡhar Ālī Khān**, IV. 35.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Mūsā Khān**, the *allāt* brother of Sayfūd-Dawla, IV. 109.
- Ghulām Muḥammad Muṭahhar Ālī Khān**, son of Nawwāb Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādūr, *m.* Qamarūn-nisā Bēgam of the Nāit community IV. 78-9.
- title *Ḥusāmūl-mulk* conferred by Nawwāb Āḡim Jāh Bahādūr, 78.
- Ghulām Muḥiyyūd-Dīn (Abdūl-Ḥayy Khān Bahādūr)**, IV. 65.
- sister's son of Badrūl-Islām Khān Bahādūr Afrāsiyāb Jang, Mōtī Bēgam betrothed to, II. 9; IV. 65.
- Ghulām Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān Bahādūr Rastagār Jang**, son of Abdūl-Bāsiṭ Khān, *m.* Kulthūm Bēgam, IV. 74.
- Ghulām Muṭtabā (Muṣṭafā Ālī Khān Bahādūr)**, the Qāziūl-quzzāt at Madras, *m.* the *d.* of Rōshan Muḥammad Khān, IV. 100.
- Ghulām Murtaḡā Khān, jāgīrdār** of Vellore, I. 54.
- a son-in-law of Ālī Dōst Khān, I. 69.
- younger brother of Riṣā Ālī Khān, and brother-in-law of Saḡdar Ālī Khān, brought about the death of the latter, I. 76-80.
- establishment of, on the *masnad* of the *nigāmat* of Arcot, and his subsequent flight, I. 80.
- murder of Saḡdar Ālī Khān by, I. 83 *f.n.*
- Ghulām Murtaḡā (Mumtāzūl-Mulk Rafīūd-Dawla Ghulām Murtaḡā Khān Bahādūr Thābit Jang)** son of Abdūl-Ghaffār Khān, *m.* the *d.* of Najaf Ālī Khān Bahādūr, IV. 87.
- Ghulām Murtaḡā Khān**, II. 192; III. 47.
- imprisonment of Mīr Asadullāh Khān by, II. 174.
- qiltadār* of Vellore, II. 212; rebellion of, II. 188.
- instigation of M. Sapīr by, II. 189.
- Ghulām Murtaḡā**, invited by Nawwāb Umdatūl-Umarā Bahādūr during the night, III. 31.
- Ghulām Mūsā Khān**, son of Nawwāb Sayfūl-Mulk Bahādūr and Jahān Bēgam, *m.* Jahāndār Bēgam, IV. 77.
- Ghulām Muṣṭafā Khān Bahādūr Ikrāmūd-Dawla**, son of Aḥmadī Bēgam and Afzūd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang, *m.* the daughter of Burhānī Bēgam, IV. 81.
- Ghulām Nabhī**, son of Nawwāb Sayfūl-Mulk Bahādūr and Badrūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 76, 77.
- Ghulām Nabī Khān Afrāsiyāb Jang**, son of Badrūl-Islām Khān, *m.* Rahīmūn-nisā-Bēgam, IV. 88.
- Ghulām Pīr (Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr II)**, son of Abdūl-Ḥakīm Khān, wives and children of, IV. 101 *f.*
- Ghulām Pīr (Muḥammad Naṣīr I'tizādūd-Dawla Ḥāfiṣ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādūr Naṣīr Jang)** son of Nawwāb Umdatūn-nisā Bēgam ṣāhibā, *m.* the elder sister of Sayfūd-Dawla Bahādūr, and father of four sons and three daughters, IV. 84.
- Ghulām Rasūl (I'tibārūd-Dawla Ghulām Rasūl Khān Bahādūr Akhar Jang)**, a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Lālī Bēgam, IV. 73-4.
- Ghulām Rasūl Khān**, son of Muḥammad Jawād Khān, *m.* Akramūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 77.
- Ghulām Rasūl Khān Bahādūr (Anwārūd-Dawla Sharafūl-Umarā Shukōhūl-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Fataḡ-Yāb Jang Bahādūr)**, son of Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān and

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Ikrām-ūn-nisā, *m.* the *d.* of Mumtāz-ūl-Umarā Bahādūr, IV. 93-4.
- Ghulām Rasūl Khān Bahādūr Sharaf-ūl-Umarā *m.* the *d.* of Shukōh-ūl-Mulk Mumtāz-ūl-Umarā I'timād-ud-Dawla Bahādūr, IV. 94.
- Ghulām Sa'īd Muḥammad, a son of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādūr, IV. 107.
- Ghulām Sajjād Husayn Khān (A'zam-ūl-Umarā Sajjād Husayn Khān Bahādūr) the son of Hāfiḡ Muḥammad Abd-ūl-Husayn Khān, IV. 82.
- Ghulām Walī, name of Nawwāb 'Umdat-ūl-Umarā Bahādūr, given to him by his father, III. 180.
- Walīnagar (Ramnad) named after, I. 6^o.
- Ghulām Walī Ḥasan, a son of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādūr, IV. 107.
- Ghulām Walīullāh (Husāmūd-Dawla Ghulām Riḡā Khān Bahādūr Husām Jane) son of Nawwāb Sayf-ūl-Mulk Bahādūr, IV. 75, 77.
- Ghulām Yadullāh, son of Ghulām Khayrullāh, IV. 83.
- Ghulām Zāmin, name suggested for Muḥammad Karīm on his recovery from small pox, III. 97.
- Ghulām Zāmin Muḥammad Karīm (Ghulām Al-i-Muḥammad Sāhib-ud-Dawla Khurshīd-ūl-Mulk Iftikḥār-ud-Dawla Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādūr Ṣamṣām Jang), author of the *Sawāniḥ-i-Mumtāz*, married Kanīz-i-Zahrā Muḥammadat-ūn-nisā Bēgam and later a *Sayyida*, IV. 85.
- Ghusl, the religious act of bathing the whole body after a legal impurity, I. 26 *f.n.*
- Gingee, see Chenji, 129 *n.*, II. 133; capture of, by M. Bussy, II. 110 *n.*
- Gingen, Captain II. 77-78 *n.*, 87; capture of Vriddhachalam by, II. 82-3 and *n.*
- Godeheu, M. peace treaty of, with Ḥazrat-i-Aḡā, II. 169-71.
- Godeheu, M., M. Dupleix blamed by, for creating profitless trouble in the Carnatic, II. 171.
- Golkonda, II. 200.
- Gopal Raj, the junior brother of Nanja Raja, II. 145 *f.n.*
- Gopāmaw, I. 17, 20, 21, 22, 109; II. 5, 12, 122, 175; III. 3, 127; IV. 18, 45, 58, 59, 60, 64, 68, 78, 89, 96.
- a town, I. 8 *f.n.*; residence of the ancestors of Anwar-ud-Dīn, I. 7 *f.*
- reached by Nawwāb Hāji Muḥammad Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādūr, I. 15.
- Governor of Madras, Town Major directed by, to go to Nawwāb 'Umdat-ūl-Umarā Bahādūr twice a week to see him, III. 169-70.
- and Tāj-ūl-Umarā Bahādūr, correspondence between, III. 172 *n.*
- sending of soldiers by, to guard Fataḥ-chawki, III. 177, 78.
- orders of, to Colonel McLean, III. 183.
- instructions of, to the commander at Nattharnagar, III. 184.
- Governor ṣāhib, III. 177.
- Governors, of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, present at the marriage of Tāj-ūl-Umarā Bahādūr, III. 113-15.
- Govind Rao, apothecary and surgeon in the employ of the *sarkār*, III. 166; did bandaging after operation by Dr. Fazāl, III. 168.
- Great spring, in Mylapore, III. 143.
- Gul Bānū, the *ḥaram* of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādūr, IV. 106.
- Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* (*Tarikh-i-Ibrāhīmī*) a work of Ferishta, I. 8 *f.n.*

H

- Ḥabībullāh Khān, III. 15.
- Ḥabīb-ūn-nisā Bēgam, a daughter of Nawwāb Aḡim Jāh Bahādūr by a mistress, IV. 72.
- Ḥabīb-ūn-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Hāmid Ali Khān, *m.* Ghulām Husan styled Nawwāb Husām-ūl-Mulk, son of Nawwāb Walājāh I, IV. 64.

INDEX PARTS—I-IV

- Habībun-nisā Bēgam**, wife of Nawwāb Hu-āmūl-Mulk Bahādur and mother of Barakatun-nisā Bēgam, IV. 78.
- Hadīth**, Traditions, IV. 31-32 n.
- Hādīu'd-Dawla**, III. 136.
- Haḍrat-i-A'lā**, same as Muḥammad Ali Nawwāb Wālājāh I, I. xxxi.
- Haḍrat Ibrā'īm Khali'llūllāh**, a Prophet, the ancestors of Haḍrat-i-A'lā, of the lineage of, I. 1.
- Haḍrat Khwāja Muḥnu'd-Dīn Chishtī Muḥammad Najīb Khān**, a servant in the *dargāh* of, I. 108.
- Haḍrat Mūsa**, I. 62.
- Haḍrat Natthar Walī**, Nattharnagar named after, I. 60. 132
- Haḍrat Sayyid Abdu'l-Qādir, Qādir Nāgar** (Tajāwar) named after, I. 60.
- Hāfiẓ Aḥmad Khān Bahādur**, III. 184; IV. 50.
- Alā'ud-Dawla Bahādur* a title of, IV. 17.
- Hāfiẓā Bēgam**, *d.* of Khādija Bēgam, *m.* Šādiq Ali Khān and mother of Fāṭima Bēgam, IV. 86.
- Hāfiẓ Hāji Maghribī Šāhib**, III. 23, 38, 39, 43, 46, 49.
- Hāfiẓ Hasan Ali Khān Bahādur** and Muḥammad Jawād Khān Bahādur sons of Haḍrat-i-A'lā by one mother, II. 10.
- Hāfiẓ Hasan Ali Khān Rustam Jang**, III. 19.
- a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 87.
- Hāfiẓ 'Ināyat Aḥmad**, father of Quḍrat Aḥmad, IV. 96.
- Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān**, son of Nawwāb Sulṭānun-nisā Bēgam, *m.* the *d.* of Ruknu'd-Dawla Ghulām Ashraf Khān Bahādur, and later Murtaẓā Bēgam, IV. 82, and another lady from a noble family, IV. 82-3.
- Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur**, III. 15, 19, 22, 23, 24, 39, 43, 46, 56.
- Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur** a title of Muḥammad Nāṣir, II. 10.
- the title *Šamsām Jang* conferred upon, by Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 57.
- Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Šamsām Jang Bahādur**, son of Muḥammad Khayrū'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Nāṣim Jang the Senior, and father of Ghulām Al-i-Muḥammad Khurshīdūl-Mulk Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Iftikhārū'd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 55.
- brother of Abdu'l-Hādī Khayrū'd-Dīn Khān Šamsāmū'd-Dawla Bahādur, *m.* Nawwāb Umdatun-nisā Bēgam, and father of Muḥammad Karīm, IV. 66.
- Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Munawwar**, *see* Nawwāb Amīrūl-Umarā Madārūl-Mulk Rōshanū'd-Dawla Muḥammad Munawwar Khān Bahādur Jang, IV. 63.
- Hāfiẓ Muḥnu'd-Dīn Khān**, and the French, I. 96.
- Hāfiẓullāh Khān Bahādur Hāfiẓ Yār-Jang**, a friend of A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV and Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur the regent, IV. 38.
- Hāji**, the title of, added to the name of Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn, I. 19.
- Hāji Abdu'llāh**, younger son of Muḥammad Anwaru'd-Dīn, I. 19.
- Hāji Anwar**, same as Muḥammad Anwar, IV. 59.
- Hāji Hāfiẓ Maghribī Šāhib**, III. 131.
- Superintendent of the holy *majlis*, III. 16.
- and the construction of the Fataḥ-Chawki, III. 67-68.
- father of A'ẓam Nawāz Khān, IV. 31.
- Hāji Ḥusayn**, father of Anwarū'd-Dīn, the chief of Rājbandar, I. 40.
- Hāji Manṣūrū'd-Dawla**, son of Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 72.
- Hāji Miyān**, *see* Muḥammad Anwar, IV. 64.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Hāji Miyān** same as Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Bahādur, third son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 11 n.
- Hāji Muḥammad Anwar**, III. 4; son of Shaykh Muḥammad Munawwar and father of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Sirājūl-Dawla Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, IV. 53, 55.
- Hāji Muḥammad Anwarūd-Dīn Khān** Bahādur Nawwāb, II. 12.
- character of, I. 9-13.
- attainment by, of high ranks in the court of Shāh Jahān, I. 14-16.
- visit of, to Makka and Madīna, subsequent rise in service and death, I. 16-19.
- family history of, I. 19-21.
- Hāji Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān**, IV. 35.
- Hāji Shāfia Isfahānī**, Murshid Qulī Khān, originally a Brahman converted to Islām by, II. 15 f.n.
- Hāji Ziyātul-lāh Khān**, IV. 100.
- Hajjāj bin Yūsuf**, tyranny of, I. 65 and f.n.
- Hakims**, I. 23, 63, 69.
- Hakīm Abdūr(l)-Razzāq Khān**, III. 95, 164.
- Hakīm Aḥmad Khān**, III. 35, 95, 164.
- Hakīm Aḥmad Khān** Bahādur, vakīl of the *ṣūba* of Muḥammad-pūr, IV. 107-08.
- Hakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān**, III. 164, 167, 183; invitation to, III. 9.
- Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur attended by, III. 181, 182.
- Hakīm Ali Akbar**, II. 23; an employee of Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān, I. 78.
- Hakīm Ali Naqī Khān**, III. 164.
- Hakīm Askari Khān**, III. 164.
- Hakīm Hādhiq Yār Khān**, IV. 35.
- Hakīm Jamālūd-Dīn Khān** Bahādur Hakīm Yār Jang, a constant companion of Nawwāb Aḡīm Jāh Bahādur, the regent, IV. 39.
- Hakīm Kamālūd-Dīn Khān**, III. 164.
- Hakīm Muḥammad Amīn**, II. 23.
- Hakīm Muḥammad Wāṣil**, III. 164.
- Hakīm Qudrat Nabī**, son of Qudrat Muḥammad, wife and children of, IV. 99.
- Hakīm Sikandar**, II. 23; a physician of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, II. 71.
- Hakīm Taqī Nawāz Khān** Bahādur, IV. 35.
- Hakim-i-Shara'**, IV. 23.
- Halīmūn-nisā**, wife by *muta'* marriage, of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 106.
- Hamida Bi**, *nikāh* wife of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and mother of Maryamūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 87.
- Hāmid-Ali Khān**, father of Muḥammad 'Izzūd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang Nāmī, III. 27.
- father of Ḥabībūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 64.
- father of A'izzūd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang, IV. 81.
- father of Abdūl-Ḥafīẓ Khān Bahādur Saṭwat Jang, IV. 89.
- father of Abdūl-Laṭīf Khān Bahādur, IV. 90.
- Hamīdūd-Dawla**, III. 136; grandson of Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh, II. 15.
- Hamīdūn-nisā Bēgam** (Ḥaẓrat Wālida Bēgam Ṣāhiba), *d.* of Abdūl-Hayy Khān Bahādur, *m.* Abdūl-Ṣamad Khān Dilēr Jang Naṣīrūd-Dawla Bahādur II, IV. 91; children of, IV. 93-4.
- Hamla-i-Haydari** a poetical biography of Prophet Muḥammad by Muḥammad Rafī' Khān Bādhlī, III. 167 and n.
- Hanmant Rai**, the title *Rai Bahādur* conferred upon, by Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 70.
- Hanumappa Nāyak**, son of, Kongana Nāyak, 114 n.
- Haqqānī**, a class, II. 6.
- Hari Singh**, advice of, to Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, II. 121.

INDEX PARTS—I-IV

- Harris Bahādur**, General, Lieutenant-General, III. 11, IV. 10 *n.*, defeat of Tippu Sultān by, III. 133-4 *n.*, interview of, with Nawwāb 'Umdātul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 133-4.
- Hārūn**, the Abbasid Caliph, rebellion against, IV. 56.
- Hasan**, III. 2 *n.* and 3.
—a son of 'Alī, the fourth Caliph of Islām, II. 7 *f.n.*
- Hasan** the father of Burhān, I. xxvi.
- Hasan Khān**, *see* Casa Verona, I. 100 *f.n.*
- Hasan Muḥammad**, a fort-keeper at Kirkatpala, and Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī, I. xxx-xxxi.
- Hasan Muthannā**, son of Imām Hasan and father of 'Abdullāh, IV. 56.
- Hasan Zamān Khān**, nephew of Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān, I. 78; became a servant of Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān, I. 79.
- Hāshim 'Alī Khān**, *see* Muḥammad Hāshim, I. 14.
- Hashmat Jang Bahādur**, the title of Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick the British Resident at Ḥaydarābād, III. 135, 135-6 *n.*
- Hashmat Jang (Bahādur)**, III. 15, 16, 23.
—the Nawwāb's allegations against, III. 10.
—imprisonment and pardon of, III. 103.
- Hashmat Jang Nūrūd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Bahādur**, IV. 114.
- Hashi-bangla (Nawwāb's Octagon)**, Marine Villa, III. 33 and *n.*
- Haskota**, II. 30.
- Hātim**, IV. 27 and *n.*
- Ḥaydar 'Alī**, defeated by Sir Eyre Coote at Porto Novo, II. 18 *f.n.*
- Ḥaydar-'Alī Khān**, II. 190, 192, 253 *n.*
—the chief of Srirangapattan, tumult caused by, at Chennapattan, I. xxvi.
—made Ḥasan Zamān Khān, his servant, I. 79.
- Ḥaydar-'Alī Khān** an account of, II. 102-04.
—ruler of Mysore, brought to the Carnatic by Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān, II. 152.
—indecision of, II. 201.
—commission of General Sir Eyre Coote to fight against, II. 225.
—was in Mysore, II. 248.
—help of, to M. Lally and Rīẓā 'Alī Khān, II. 253.
—help of, sought by Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān, II. 264.
—siege of Tellicherry by the troops of, IV. 10 *n.*
—captured Sira, I. 113 *n.*; Baswapatān under, I. 114 *n.*
- Ḥaydarābād**, II. 25, 59, 68*n.*, 150, 152, 174, 178, 244, 245; III. 9, 35, 36, 85*n.*, 135*n.*, 136, 138, 139; IV. 71, 102.
—Miṣbāḥullāh Khān Bahādur appointed *mīr-sāmān* of the *kār-khāna* pertaining to the *jāgīr* of, IV. 38.
- Ḥaydar Husayn Khān Bahādur** Imti'āzūd-Dawla, son of Aḥmadī Bēgam and A'izzūd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang, *m.* the daughter of Sharaful-Umarā Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān Bahādur, and later 'Alīya Bēgam, *d.* of Amīrūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 81.
- Ḥaydarī Bēgam**, *d.* of Ghulām Khayrullāh, *m.* the eldest son of Ghulām 'Abdūl-Salām 'Abidīn Khān, IV. 83.
- Ḥaydar Jang**, same as 'Abdur-Raḥmān, II. 179.
—murder of, at the instigation of Nīẓām 'Alī Khān, II. 180-1.
- Ḥaydar Jang the senior**, *m.* Sukālī Bēgam and father of Ghulām Jilānī Khān Suhrāb Jang, IV. 93.
- Ḥaydar Nāya(i)k (Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān)**, II. 102-04 *f.n.*, 188; III. 33.
—father of Tippu Sultān *Shahīd*, III. 133.
—defeat of, by Ḥaẓrat-i-'Alā, II. 161.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

- Hayy, a title, meaning 'the ever-living', I. 9.
- Ḥaẓrat Abū 'Abd-Allāh Ḥusayn, II. 8.
- Ḥaẓrat Amīrūl-Hind Wālājāh Umdatul-Mulk Sirājūd-Dawla Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Ḥaẓrat Jang, *darbār* of, III. 23.
- Ḥaẓrat Bēgam (Kamu Bēgam), IV. 61.
- Ḥaẓrat-Bēgam šāhiba, Ḥaẓrat Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam, known as, III. 25, 42, 53, 62, 64, 74; IV. 101.
- aunt of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 54.
- Ḥaẓrat Dastgīr Šāhib Sāwī, tomb of, at Mylapore, III. 40.
- the coffin of Nawwāb Wālājāh I interred under the vault of, III. 48.
- Ḥaẓrat-Farīdūd-Dīn Šāhib Shahīd, II. 158.
- Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, *see* Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, II. 3, 145, 186, 193, 202, 235; III. 26.
- Ḥaẓrat Imām Ḥusayn, the holy *Urs* of, III. 33.
- Ḥaẓrat Maḥbūb Subḥānī, a name of Abdu'l-Qādir al-Jilānī, III. 13, 16, 16n, 40, 43; IV. 47.
- Ḥaẓrat Mawlānā Abdu'l-'Alī Šāhib, III. 19, 20, 39, 102.
- Ḥaẓrat Mīr Maḥdī Šāhib, III. 21.
- Ḥaẓrat Nattharwalī Šāhib, burial of the body of Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I, to the right of the holy shrine of, III. 133.
- Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Amīrūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 22.
- Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Aḡīm Jāh Bahādur, regency of, III. 12.
- Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Bēgam Šāhiba, Khadija Bēgam known as III. 19.
- Ḥaẓrat-Nawwāb Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādur, 11-12.
- Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Šāhib, III. 15.
- Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Shukohul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Nuṣrat Jang Bahādur, III. 23.
- father of Dulārī Bēgam Šāhiba, III. 32.
- Ḥaẓrat Qādir Walī (His holiness Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Abdu'l-Qādir Šāhib Nāgūrī), II. 196.
- darḡah* of, at Nagur visited by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, II. 243-4.
- Ḥaẓrat Quṭb-i-'Alam Naṣīrūd-Dīn Chirāḡ Dehlawī, a descendant of Sultān Shihābūd-Dīn Aḡmad Farrukh Shāh 'Adil, IV. 57.
- Ḥaẓrat Raḥmatullāh Šāhib, III. 15.
- Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Abdu'l-Qādir Šāhib Nāgūrī, plunder of the shrine of, by M. Lally, II. 196; an account of, and his miracles, II. 196-197.
- Ḥaẓrat Sayyidūsh-shuhadā, chief of the martyrs, III. 2, 4.
- Ḥaẓrat Shakar Ganj, author of the *Ma'drijul-Wilāyat* and *Siyarul-Aqḡab*, IV. 57.
- Ḥaẓrat Ṭabl-i-'Alam Nattharwalī Šāhib, tomb of, at Nattharnagar, III. 40.
- Ḥaẓrat 'Umar Fārūq, the ancestor of Muḥammad Munawwar, IV. 53.
- Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān (Muẓaffar Jang), I. 97, II. 33 n, 47, 178.
- grandson of Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh, *jāgīrdār* of Adoni, helped Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla against Bābu Nāyak, I. 113.
- arrival of, in the Carnatic at the instance of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān (Chanda Šāhib) and his seeking help from the French, and the *jāgīrdārs* of the Nāwāyat community, I. 135-141.
- at Arcot, II. 1-2.
- meeting of, with M. Dupleix, to devise plans to subjugate Nattharnagar, II. 2-3.
- unsuccessful march of, against Tanjore, II. 4.
- subjugation of Arcot and Nellore by, II. 25.
- defeat of, at Silambar (Chidambaram), II. 30-31 and 31 f.n.
- conspiracy to improve the position of, II. 37-42.
- saved by Rāja Kamdas, II. 56.
- grants to his dependents, II. 62-3.

- Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, friendly letter of, to Ḥaẓrat-Aḡā II. 63.
- the friendship of M. Duplex with, II, 131.
 - establishment of, on the throne of the Deccan, II, 177, 185.
 - murder of, by Himmat Bahādur Khān on his way to the Deccan, II, 64-67.
- Himāyat Khān, (Himmat Khān), II, 68 *f.n.*
- Himmat Bahādur Khān, II, 48 *n.*, 65.
- sardār* of Kurnool, ordered by Nawwāb Nizāmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang to capture Chennapatam and Devanampatan, I, 125.
 - the *jāgirdār* of Cuddapah, conspiracy of, to improve the position of Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, II, 37-42.
 - the *nāgim* of Kurnool, appointed to subjugate Chennapattan, II, 48 and *f.n.*
 - martyrdom of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang at the hands of, II, 57.
 - given the title of Rustam Khān, II, 63.
 - murder of Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān by, and his own death at the contrivance of Nizām Āli Khān, II, 67.
 - wife and children of, taken captive, II, 68.
- Himmat Jang Bahādur, a title conferred on Quṭbūd-Dīn Khān, III, 86.
- Hind, Pādshāh, I, xxvii.
- Hippocrates, noted for his learned plans, I, xxiii.
- History of Yemen, I, 65.
- Hobart, Lord, Governor of Madras, III, 44.
- interview of the son of, with Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III, 51-52.
 - relations of, with Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III, 54-5 and *n.*
- Hobart, visit and congratulations of, to Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III, 58-9.
- and the letter from the Prince of Wales III, 73.
 - recall of, III, 151 *n.*
- Humāyūn, Emperor, I, 81 *f.n.*
- Humāyūn Bakht, found refuge in Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, II, 15.
- Humāyūn Pādshāh, IV, 58.
- Hundi I, 130, 131, IV, 48.
- Hūn Kuruk, a coin, I, 98; 98-9 *f.n.*
- right to the establishment of a mint for, given to the English by the *Nizām* of Ḥaydarābād, I, 100.
- Hūns, I, 105.
- Ḥurmatul-nisā Bēgam, mother of Khān-i-'Ālam Khān Bahādur, IV, 102.
- Ḥurmatul-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Iḥsānullāh Khān, *m.* Jān-i-Jahān Khān Bahādur Sardārūd-Dawla, IV, 108.
- Ḥusāmūd-Dawla, III, 144, 145.
- son of Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Bahādur and Badrul-nisā Bēgam, IV, 92.
- m.* Barakatul-nisā Bēgam, IV, 78.
- father of Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, IV, 84.
 - alleged to have brought an army from Nattharnagar, III, 175.
 - younger daughter of, *m.* to Ghulām Kāzim Khān, IV, 84.
- Ḥusāmūd-Dawla Ghulām Riṣā Khān Bahādur Ḥusām Jang (Ghulām Waliullāh second son of Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Bahādur) *m.* Barakatul-nisā Bēgam, children of, IV, 75-6; III, 79-82.
- Ḥusāmūl Mulk, title of Ghulām Muḥammad Muṭahhar Āli Khān, IV, 78.
- Ḥusāmūl-Mulk, a title of Ghulām Ḥasan, II, 8-9, III, 25, 46, 48, IV, 106.
- appointment of, as *Ṣabadār* of Muḥammadpūr, III, 10.
 - father-in-law of Ḥusāmūd-Dawla Ghulām Riṣā Khān, III, 80.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Ḥusām-ūl-Mulk, purchase of Mubārak Bāgh by, from Colonel Barrett, III. 87.
 —settlement of the differences of, with Naṣir-ūl-Mulk Bahādur, III. 94.
 —present at the marriage of Tāj-ūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 111.
 —appointed as the permanent *Ṣabadār* of, Muḥammadpūr, III. 116.
 —son of Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur I, I. 67.
 —brother of Nawwāb 'Umdat-ūl-Umarā Bahādur, marriage of, III. 122, 124.
 —arrival of, from Trichinopoly and visit of, to Nawwāb 'Umdat-ūl-Umarā Bahādur in his sick bed, III. 171.
 —sorrow of, III. 183.
 —Daryā Bēgam junior to, IV. 65.
 —father of Barakat-ūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 75.
 —wives and children of, IV. 78-9.
 —Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān brought up by, after the death of his father, IV. 79.
 —and the *Tūsak-i-Wālahāt*, IV. 115.
 Ḥusām-ūl-Mulk I'timād-ud-Dawla Muḥammad Abdullāh Khān Bahādur Hizabr Jang, a title of Ghulām Hasan, II. 183; IV. 64.
 Ḥusayn, III. 2 n. and 3; martyrdom of, III. 123.
 Ḥusayn, *see* Imām Ḥusayn, IV. 16.
 Ḥusayn, a son of 'Alī, the fourth Caliph of Islām, II. 7 f.n.
 Ḥusayn Ali Khān, I. 62.
 Ḥusayn Dōst Khān (Chanda Sāhib), II. 32, 33, 34, 38, 47, 53, 55, 64, 91, 93, 111, 129, 135, 137, 141, 155, 159, 170, 174, 202 n., 245, 253, 273.
 —the *hakim* of Trichinopoly and a son-in-law of 'Alī Dōst Khān, I. 69; relations of, with Trichinopoly, I. 70-71.
 —and the Mahrattas; and imprisonment of, I. 73-74,
 Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, and the French, I. 97.
 —coming of Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur at the instance of, I. 137-8.
 —and Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, I. 137-147.
 —fight of, with Nawwāb Sirāj-ud-Dawla Bahādur, I. 143 ff.
 —invasion of Tanjore by, along with Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, II. 4.
 —defeat of, at Silambar, II. 30-31 and f.n.
 —invasion of Nāṣir Jang's camp by, II. 39.
 —rebellion of, the capture of Tiruvati and Chingleput and the defeat of Ṣaff Shikan Khān and his son by, II. 42-45 and f.n.
 —titles conferred on, by Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, II. 62.
 —letter to Ḥaṣrat-i-Afā, and march of, to Nattharnagar, II. 69-78 and f.n.
 —arrival of, at Nattharnagar, II. 82-88 and f.n.
 —and the French, defeat of, near Elumisaram, II. 106-9 and f.n.
 —shelter of, in the temples of Srirang and Jhangir, and their siege by Ḥaṣrat-i-Afā, II. 109-10.
 —request by, to M. Duplex for help, II. 110.
 —caused a letter to be written by M. Law to Ḥaṣrat-i-Afā, III. 117.
 —seeks help from Manaji Rao, the Chief of Tanjore, II. 119-22.
 —retribution for the dealings with the Rani of Trichinopoly, II. 122.
 —murder of, by Manaji Rao, II. 123-26 and f.n.
 —Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān, brother-in-law (wife's sister's husband) of, II. 188.
 —vengeance on, taken by Ḥaṣrat-i-Afā for the murder of his father, II. 229.
 —brother-in-law of Taqī 'Alī Khān, II. 231.
 —treatment of the dependents of, by Ḥaṣrat-i-Afā, II. 267.

- Husaynī Bēgam.** *d.* of Ra'isul-Umarā Bahādur, *m.* Muḥammad Husaynūd-Dīn, IV. 104.
- Husaynī Bēgam,** grand-daughter of Wajhūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, *m.* Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 105, 107.
- Husayn Muḥammad Khān,** II. 71; appointed councillor of Ghulām Husayn, (Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur) II. 241.
- Husayn Nagar** (*Shivganga*), II. 215.
- Husayn Nawāz Khān Bahādur,** III. 46, 144, 146, 153, 161.
- Husayn Nawāz Khān Bahādur,** ninth son of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, II. 10.
- Husayn Nawāz Khān Bahādur,** son of Nawwāb Zēbūn-nisā Bēgam, III. 120.
- Husayn Nawāz Khān Aẓimul-Umarā I'timādul-Mulk Bahādur,** son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Ra'isūn-nisā Bēgam, *m.* the *d.* of 'Ibād 'Alī Khān, III. 56; IV. 88.
- A'ẓamul-Umarā*, a title of, IV. 17.
- Husaynpūr** (*Shivganga*) named after Ghulām Husayn, I. 60.
- Husaynūd-Dīn Khān Shahrīyārul-Mulk Bahādur,** *m.* the daughter of Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Abdu'l-Husayn Khān, IV. 82.
- Husnī Bēgam,** the *ḥaram* of Nawwāb Naṣīrul-Mulk Bahādur, and mother of a daughter married to Naṣīr 'Alī, IV. 79.
- Ḥaydarābād,** Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla's *niḡamat* of, I. 109.
- niḡamat* of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā at, I. 117.
- Hyderabadī Carnatic,** I. 57 *f.n.*
- I
- 'Ibād 'Alī Khān,** *d.* of, *m.* to Husayn Nawāz Khān Aẓimul-Umarā I'timādul-Mulk Bahādur, IV. 88.
- Ibts*, II. 97; 97-8 *f.n.*
- Ibrāhīm,** son of Abdu'llāh, rebellion, capture and execution of, IV. 56.
- Ibrāhīm.** a descendant of Fakhrūd-Dīn, appointment of, as *qāḍī* of Qannawj, IV. 58.
- Ibrāhīm Akbar,** the elder son of Naṣīrūd-Dīn, I. 2, 4.
- Ibrāhīm Khān,** II. 178, 181.
- 'Id*, festival, II. 5, 12.
- Iftikhārūd-Dawla Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur Ṣamṣām Jang** (Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur), son of Muḥammad Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur and father of Muḥammad Karīm Khayrūd-Dīn Ḥasan Ghulām Zāmin, III. 3, 11, 32, 51, 75, 101, 102, 127, 148, 161, 170, 180, 182, 183; IV. 2, 46, 48.
- a title of Ghulām Zāmin Muḥammad Karīm, IV. 85.
- m.* a *d.* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and children of, IV. 108-11.
- father of Muḥammad Karīm and Jahāndār Bēgam, IV. 77.
- father of Jahāniyā Bēgam, IV. 79.
- appointment of, as *fawjdār* of Nellore, III. 11.
- in charge of the marriage celebrations of Muḥammadi Bēgam, III. 78-9.
- illness and treatment of, by Ḥakīm Aḥmadullāh Khān Bahādur, III. 34-6.
- the lease of the taluks of Ongole, and Palnar granted to, III. 60.
- appointment of, as *fawjdār* of Nellore and grant of various dignities to, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 105-07.
- present at the marriage of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 111.
- father of Muḥammad Ḥabībullah Naṣīrūd-Dawla Khān Bahādur, III. 121, 126.
- preparation of a thatched house by, on the sea-shore, III. 129-30.
- feast of, to Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 159-60.
- recitation of the *Sūra-i-Yāsīn* by, III. 181.
- talk of, with Colonel Barrett Bahādur and Mr. Webbe, IV. 3-5.
- annoyance of, and maintenance allowance of, stopped by the Governor, IV. 14-15.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Iftikhār-ūl-Mulk** **Nāṣīb-ud-Dawla** (Bahādur) Muḥammadī Miyān, son of Muḥammad Karīm and Kanīz-i-Zahrā, IV. 41, 42.
- Iḥsānullāh Khān**, father of Fayḻ Muḥammad Khān Bahādur, IV. 90.
- Iḥsānullāh Khān**, father of Najm-ud-Dīn Husayn Khān, IV. 94.
- Iḥsānullāh Khān**, father of Burhānullāh Khān, IV. 98.
- Ikhṭiyār Jang**, IV. 73.
- Ikhṭiyār Jang Bahādur**, Ghulām Jilānī Khān, honoured with the title of, III. 125.
- Ikrām-ūn-nisā**, *d.* of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, *m.* Sharaf-ūl-Umarā Bahādur Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān, and mother of four daughters and one son, IV. 93-4.
- younger sister of, married to Tāj-ūl-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 68.
- Ilāqadār**, I. 135; Murari Rao, of Guthi, I. 74.
- Bābū Nāyak, of, the Government of Poona, I. 45.
- Imād-ūl-Mulk**, a title of **Shihāb-ud-Dīn**, II. 61 *f.n.*
- sent Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh to prison, II. 144 *f.n.*
- Imām**, I. 61, II. 5, 8.
- Imāms**, twelve, I. 68, 75, 81, III. 27.
- Imām Ḥasan**, father of Ḥasan Muḥanna, IV. 56.
- Imām Husayn**, IV. 78.
- Imām Husayn** (Janāb Sayyid Maḡlūm), IV. 18.
- Imām Husayn** second son of Fāṭima, killed in a conflict with Yazīd, IV. 16.
- Imām Husayn**, father of Fāṭima, IV. 56.
- Imām Shāhib**, I. 102 *f.n.*
- Imām Shāhib Bakhshī** (Ghulām Imām Husayn Khān), I. 96.
- Imām Shāfi'**, rebellion of, IV. 56.
- Imām Zāmin**, III. 21 and *n.*
- Imtiyāz-ud-Dawla**, grandson of Nawwāb Sulṭān-ūn-nisā Bēgam, *m.* a *d.* of Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān and Ikrām-ūn-nisā, IV. 93.
- 'Indyat-nāma**, II. 265.
- 'Ināyat-ūn-nisā Bēgam**, (Nawwāb Bahū Bēgam) *d.* of Ziyā-ud-Dawla Bahādur, *m.* A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV and mother of a son Ghulām Muḥammad Ghawṭh Khān Bahādur, IV. 70-71.
- 'Ināyut-ūn-nisā Bēgam**, *w.* of Tāj-ūl-Umarā Bahādur, brought up the daughter of Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, IV. 84.
- Indo-European trade, routes of the, in the 15th century, I. 86-7 *f.n.*
- Innis Khān, same as Yūnus Khān, II. 105.
- Iqlīm**, I. 90 and *f.n.*, III. 90.
- Iqtidār Khān Bahādur**, son of Nawwāb Shukōh-ūl-Mulk and Allāh Rakhī Bēgam, a martyr in his fight against the Pālāyagār of Chittore, IV. 91.
- Irān**, garden of, I. xxiii; the Carnatic compared to, I. xxvii.
- Ṣafawīyya Sultans of, II. 6.
- 'Irāq**, II. 210; trade of, in the hands of the Arabs before the coming of the *Frang* merchants, I. 85.
- Isabella of Castile, wife of the King of Spain, I. 87 and *f.n.*
- Ishāq**, I. 4; son of Shaykh Ibrāhīm and father of Abūl-Fataḥ Wā'iz Akbar, IV. 56.
- Ishāqpattan**, II. 213.
- Iskandar**, Alexander, I. xxii and *f.n.*, Amīr-ūl-Hind Wālājāh compared to, I. xxiii.
- Iskandriyya** (Alexandria), I. 86.
- 'Iṣmat Bī**, grand-mother of Nāṣir 'Alī, IV. 79.
- 'Iṣmat-Bī**, grand-mother of Muḥammad Bāqir, IV. 88.
- 'Iṣmat Bibī**, mother of Ḥayāt Qādir 'Alī Khān, III. 98, 100.
- 'Iṣmat Bibī** sāhibā of Gopamaw, father of Muḥammad Ḥayāt Qādir 'Alī Khān Bahādur, IV. 68.
- Iṣṭafā 'Alī Khān** (Ghulām Jilānī), IV. 101.
- Istikhāra**, I. 53 and *f.n.*

- I'tibār Khān, grant of honours to, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 103-04.
- I'timādul-Mulk, III. 153.
- I'tisām Jang Bahādur, conferred the title of *Nāṣirūd-Dawla* by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 70.
- I'tizādud-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣir Khān Bahādur (Qhulām Pir) III. 146, 153; IV. 84.
- m.* Amatul-Khadija Bēgam, IV. 76
- m.* Raḥmatul-nisā Bēgam, IV. 82.
- father of Ruqayya Bēgam, IV. 73, 102.
- sons of, *m.* Sa'īdun-nisā Bēgam and Khadija Bēgam respectively, IV. 76.
- I'tizādul-mulk Abdūl-Ḥamīl Khān Bahādur a companion of Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur the regent, IV. 37.
- I'tizādud-Dawla Bahādur, first son of Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 110-11.
- I'tizādud-Dawla, (Qhulām Kāzīm Khān) second son of Qhulām Pir, styled as, IV. 84.
- J**
- Jabbār Miyān, *m.* Aḥmadī Bēgam, IV. 92.
- Ja'far, creed of, I. 61.
- Ja'far Ali, punishment of, III. 82-4.
- Ja'fariyya, a sect, II. 5.
- Ja'farjī Bohra, building of, at Karampāk, IV. 43.
- Ja'far Khān, a name of Murshid Qulī Khān, II. 15 *f.n.*
- Jahān Bēgam, *nikāḥ* wife of Nawwāb Sayfūl-Mulk Bahādur and mother of Qhulām Mūsa Khān, IV. 77.
- Jahāndār Bēgam, *d.* of the *nikāḥ* wife of Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur *m.* Qhulām Mūsa Khān, IV. 77.
- elder sister of Jahāniya Bēgam, IV. 79.
- Jahāndār Shāh, I. 59 *f.n.*
- father of 'Alamgir II, II. 144 *f.n.*
- Jahāniya Bēgam, younger daughter of Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur *m.* Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān, IV. 79.
- Jalālud-Dīn Khān, son of Ṣādiq Ali Khān, *m.* Zinatun-nisā Bēgam, IV. 90.
- Jambukesvaram (Jhamgīr) II 109-10, 118; brought under the control of Ḥuṣayn Dōst Khān, II. 86.
- siege of, by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 109-10 and *f.n.*
- capture of, 126.
- James Achilles Kirkpatrick, Colonel, British Resident in Ḥaydarābād during the reign of Nawwāb Nizām Ali Khān Bahādur, III. 135 and 135-6 *n.*
- James West, III. 31 *n.*
- Jamīāt Bi, wife by *nikāḥ* of Qhulām Ali Sayfūd-Dawla, children of, IV. 75.
- Jāmi'-Masjid, in Arcot, burial of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur at, I. 147.
- Jāmi'-masjid (in Triplicane) same as Wālājāhī mosque, IV. 19 and *n.*
- renovation of, by Nawwāb A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. 23.
- the tombs of Aẓīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, IV. 31.
- Jamshīd, II. 260; Amirul-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh I said to have possessed the honour of, I. xxiii.
- Jāmi'ul-lubāb, a work, I. 65.
- Janāb Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādur, fourth son of Muḥammad Ali Nawwāb Wālājāh Bahādur by his first wife Khadija Bēgam, III. 5 and *n.*
- Janāb Nawwāb Ṣāhib, same as Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Sirājūl-Umarā Bahādur, (the Nawwāb Regent) III. 7.
- Janāb Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, uncle of Muḥammad Karīm Khān Bahādur, III. 6.
- Janāb Sayyid Maḡlūm (Imām Ḥusayn), IV. 18.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Jān-i-'Alam Khān Bahādur, son of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Khān Bahādur Sardārūd-Dawla, *m.* Munawwar Bēgam, IV. 108.
- Jān-i-'Alam Khān, son of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Khān, *m.* Munawwarūn-nisa Bēgam, IV. 95.
- father of 'Azizūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 94.
- Jānī Bēgam, *d.* of Jukku Miyān, *m.* secretly Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 105.
- Jān-i-Jahān Khān, father of Jān-i-'Alam Khān, IV. 95.
- Jān-i-Jahān, (awwāb Sirājūd-Dawla) in the Deccan, and the appointment of, to the *niḡamat* of Chicacole Rā'bhandar, Machlipattan etc., I. 38-40.
- battle between, and Anwarūd-Dīn son of Ḥājī Ḥusayn the chief of Rājbandar and its confiscation, I. 40-42.
- niḡamat* of, in the *ṣūba* of Farkhūnda-Bunyād Ḥaydarābād, I. 42-45.
- help of, to Aṣaf Jāh at the time of the invasion of the Deccan by Pandit Pradhān, I. 47-51.
- appointment of, to the *niḡamat* of the *ṣūba* of Arcot, I. 51-57.
- Janjī, (Gingen), II. 82-83 and *f.n.*, 87.
- Jānūjī, honoured with the title of Maharaj Arjun Jaswant, II. 63.
- Jānūjī, II. 64; a successor of Raghuji, II. 181.
- Jawāhirul-Khamsa*, a work of Shaykh Abul-Muwayyid of Gujarat, I. 66 *f.n.*
- Jāwīd Khān, III. 46, 59.
- Jāwīd Khān Bahādur, *Tājūd-Dawla Bahādur* a title of, IV. 17-18.
- Jeva (Genoa), I. 86.
- Jhamgīr same as Jambukesvaram, II. 111, 118, 154, 163, 164.
- Jiddah, port of, I. 17.
- Jilān (Gīlān), IV. 29 *n.*
- Jilānī, name of Sayyid or Shaykh Abdūl-Qādir Jilānī Ḥusaynūl-Ḥusaynī, IV. 29 *n.*
- Jinjī (Nuṣratgadh), I. 118, II. 61.
- capital of the Hindu Rajas of the Payanghat, I. 58.
- a line drawn at some distance from, boundary between the 'Adil Shāhī Carnatic and Quṭb-Shāhī Carnatic, I. 90 *f.n.*
- sanad* for the *jāgīr* of, got by the French, I. 97.
- granted to Dupleix, II. 62.
- capture of, by the French and the martyrdom of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang at, II. 53-8 and *f.n.*
- Jāgīr* of, asked by Dupleix, II. 130-31.
- subjugation of the port of, by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 139.
- Jisya*, I. 46.
- John Hinde, the Sardār of Devanampatan, I. 121, 123.
- Johnson, Mr., III. 19 and *n.*
- Johnson, the *Pādre* at Frangikonda, III. 161.
- Jukku Miyān, father of Jānī Bēgam, IV. 105.
- Julū-khāna*, IV. 34.
- Jumta*, II. 12.
- Jumlatūl-Mulk Asad Khān Bahādur (Aṣafūd-Dawla and Jumlatūl-Mulk) Wazīr of Hindustan, I. 34-36.
- father of Nawwāb Dhul-Faqār Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang, I. 61.

K

- Kābul, IV. 57.
- Kachahri Bahkshi-giri*, the, entrusted to Sharafūl-Mulk Bahādur, the *bahkshi*, IV. 34.
- Kachahri Dārul-inshā anqrasi*, the, under Munshī Maḥmūd 'Alī Khān Bahādur, IV. 35.
- Kachahri Dārul-inshā Khāṣṣ fārsi*, the, under Raja Bhakunt Rāi Bahādur, IV. 35. 'Umar Nawāz Khān, the *qalamdān-bardār* in, IV. 35.
- Kachahri Diwānī*, IV. 36.
- Kachahri Khān-sāmānī*, under the care of Amīr Nawāz Jang Bahādur, IV. 34.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Kachahri Munfidh-i-ahkām*, the, entrusted to Mawlawī Aḥmad Kalīm Khān, IV. 34.
- Kadpākām (Chindādiri) granted to the *dubāsh* of Mr. Nigan, I. 102-03.
- Kaḥwāl, IV. 58; *Shuḥayb*, appointed *qāḍī* of, IV. 57.
- Kaisar (Qaysar) Amīrūl-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh I said to have had the pomp of, I. xxiii.
- Kalastri, II. 175.
- Kālīr M. guard of Krishnapur, II. 101; M. Lally joined by, II. 200.
- Kalwā, IV. 74.
- Kamāl of Nellore, allegiance to Muḥammad Āli thrown off by, II. 189 *f.n.*
- Kamān darwāza*, III. 184.
- Kamū Bēgam, *see* Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 61-62.
- Kanauj (Kanya-Kubja, Kanogiza), history of the city of, I. 6-7 *f.n.*: residence of the ancestors of Muḥammad Anwarūd-Dīn, in the town of, I. 6-7.
- Kanjī (chī) (Conjeevaram), I. 127, II. 61, 96, 97, 203.
- granted to the English by Nawwāb Muḥammad Āli Khān, Bahādur. I. 103 *f.n.*, 105 and *f.n.*
- withdrawal of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā to, II. 54.
- reached by M. Lally, II. 202.
- retirement of M. Lally to, II. 225.
- retreat to and defeat of M. Lally at, and his flight from, to Arcot, II. 225-8 and 226 *n.*
- the Sarkār forces at, II. 232, 233.
- Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, at, II. 248.
- Kandīstān, M., sent to India along with M. Lally, II. 187.
- arrival of, at Maskarīn with M. Lally, II. 187-8.
- Pondichery reached by, II. 190.
- and the siege of Chennapattan; imprisonment of, II. 204-08.
- Kaniz-i-Zahrā, Muḥammadatūn-nisā Bēgam, grand-daughter of Muḥammad Āli Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, younger sister of Majdūd-Dawla, *m.* Ghulām Zāmin Muḥammad Karīm and mother of Iftikhārūl-Mulk Naṣībūd-Dawla Muḥammadi Miyān, IV. 41.
- Karāchūrī Nand Raj, II. 94 and *f.n.*, 166, 167, 175, 201.
- reaches the presence of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā after his success against M. Kālīr, II. 100-102.
- Ḥaydar Āli Khān, an attendant under, II. 103, 104.
- and the murder of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, II. 124, 125.
- conciliation of, II. 128-29 and *f.n.*
- rebellion and union of, with Rīzā Āli Khān and M. Dup'eix, II. 143-49.
- siege of Trichinopoly by, II. 150.
- Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, hemmed in by, II. 153-54.
- flight of, towards his home, II. 171.
- Karaikal, naval victory of the English off, II. 197 *f.n.*
- Karāmatūn-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Nawwāb Shukōhūl-Mulk and Allāh Rakhī Bēgam, *m.* Nāṣirūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, IV. 92.
- Karargal (Karunguzhi), II. 139.
- Karbālā the High, II. 12, IV. 65, 76, 78, 82, 85, 104, 111.
- the place where Imām Ḥusayn died, IV. 16 and *n.*
- Kāshmir, III. 85.
- Kaī Gopal, brother of Nandraj, II. 165.
- Kardīl, M., M. Lally joined by, II. 201.
- Karikal, (Karaikal) II. 196 *n.*; siege of, by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, II. 243.
- Karīmūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Ṣawlat Jang, a son of Nawwāb Shukōhūl-Mulk, IV. 92.
- Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam Ṣāhibā (Chōṭī Bēgam), (Ḥaẓrat Bēgam), III. 52-3, 62-3, 64.
- second daughter of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur and Fakhrūn-nisā Bēgam

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Şāhibā, married to Ghulām Pīr Khayrūd-Dīn Khān as his second wife; grand-mother of Muḥammad Karīm, IV. 61, 62, 101.
- the younger sister of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, III. 42.
- Kār-i-Şaddarat, Mufti Umdatul-Ulamā Badrūd-Dawla Bahādur, in charge of, IV. 34.
- Karjām (Kerjean), II. 133, 174; battle between, and the English of Dewnampattan, II. 133-4 and *f.n.*
- defeat of, by Abrār Khān, II. 134, 136.
- Karnagāl, captured from the French, II. 232.
- Karnakāl (Karungulī), reached by Hazrat-i-Aḡā, II. 246.
- Karunguzhī, reached by M. Lally, II. 201 *n.*
- capture of, II. 232 *n.*
- Karunkulī (Kirkat-Pala), I. xxviii.
- Karūr, II, 215.
- Kāveripāk, II. 95, 97; brought under the authority of Rīzā Ali Khān, II. 202.
- fort at, cleared of the French, II. 232 and *n.*
- Khadija Bēgam (Nawwāb Bēgam Şāhibā and Bēgamī-Jān Maḥall-Khāṣṣ), daughter of Muḥammad Aḥsanūd-Dīn Khān Şāhib Şahīd *m.* Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, mother of five sons and five daughters II. 6-7; III. 5 *n.*, sons and daughters of, II. 7-9; IV. 63-7; mother of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 34; mother of Ghulām Ḥasan (Ḥusāmūl-Mulk), II. 183.
- (Nawwāb Bēgam) daughter of Sayyid Bēgam (Şāliha Bēgam), II. 6-7.
- Khadija Bēgam, the senior sister of Akbar Ali Khān Haydarī, the *nikāḥ* wife of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, and mother of three daughters, IV. 86.
- Khadija Bēgam (Nawāsī Bēgam the junior), *d.* of Ghulām Wallullāh and Barakatul-nisā Bēgam, *m.* a son of I'tizādud-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 76, 77.
- Khādū Miyān, *see* Najmūd-Dīn Ḥusayn Khān, IV. 92.
- Khāfi Khān, a title of Muḥammad Ḥāshim or Ḥāshim Ali Khān, the historian, I. 14 and 14-15 *f.n.*
- Khalīfas, I. 110.
- Khammam, IV. 96.
- Khamsa, I. xxxi.
- Khān, a title given to Ghulām Ali, I. 68.
- Khān 'Alam, II. 55.
- Khān 'Alam Khān Bahādur, purchased the building of Ja'farjī Būhra at Kodambakkam, IV. 44.
- Khān Bahādur, a son of Abdūl-Karīm Khān, III. 19.
- Khān Bahādur, an adopted son of Ghulām Ali, I. 68, 69.
- Khān Bahādur Mu'inūd-Dawla Shahsawār Jang, same as Abdūl-Karīm Khān, IV. 68.
- Khande Rao, II. 253 *n.*
- Khāndesh, rule of the descendants of Muḥammad at, I. 3.
- Khān-i-'Alam Khān Bahādur, son of Ḥurmatul-nisā Bēgam, IV. 102.
- m.* Şāliha Bēgam, IV. 108.
- father of Mun'imul-nisā Bēgam by Şāliha Bēgam, IV. 71-72.
- son of, married to the daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh III. by Zinat-maḥall, IV. 74.
- Khān-i-Jahān Khān Bahādur, father of Bāqir Ḥusayn Khān, IV. III.
- Khān-i-Jahān Khān Bahādur Tahawwur Jang, son of Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk and Lārī Bēgam, *m.* Mişrī Bēgam, IV. 91.
- Khātūna Bēgam, brought up Abdūl-Ghaffār Khān Bahādur Thābit Jang, IV. 87.
- a wife by *nikāḥ* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 86.
- Khayrābād, I. 21 and *f.n.*
- Khayrūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān (Muḥaffar Ali), IV. 101.
- Khāṣṣ-maḥall, IV. 14; *see* Di(u)lārī Bēgam Şāhibā, IV. 63, 68, 91.

- Khāṣṣ-Maḥall**, Aḡimūr-nisā Bēgam, the, IV. 69.
- Khayrūd-Dīn Khān I**, IV. 96.
—son of **Shaykh Khayrullāh**, wives and children of, IV. 97-101.
—genealogy of the family of, III. 8, 12.
- Khayrūd-Dīn Khān II**, son of **Abdūl-Hakīm Khān**, married **Karīmūr-nisā Bēgam**, IV. 101; children of, IV. 101-108.
—a brother-in-law of **Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḷā** appointed to collect *Peshkash* from the *Pālayagārs*, I. 131-2; II. 71, 128, 133 n., 157.
—the *nā'ib* at the fort of **Dārūr-naṣr**, II. 165, 166.
—dispersal of the French from the fort of Trichinopoly by, II. 167-68; title of *Bahādur* conferred upon, II. 168.
—*m.* **Kammu Bēgam**, daughter of **Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur** and **Fakhrūr-nisā Bēgam Ṣāhibā**, after the death of his first Bēgam, IV. 61.
- Khayrūd-Dīn Khān II**, IV. 96.
- Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Nāḡim Jang** (**Ghulām Pīr Khayrūd-Dīn Khān II**), IV. 101.
- Khayrūr-nisā Bēgam**, younger sister of **Ḥabībūr-nisā Bēgam m. Abdūl-Quddūs**, IV. 64.
—wife of **Nawwāb Naṣīrūl-Mulk Bahādur**, IV. 79.
- Khayrūr-nisā Bēgam**, the Muslim wife of Colonel James Achilles Kirkpatrick, III 135-6 n.
- Khidr Khān**, name of the male dog reared by **Nawwāb Dāwūd Khān**, I. 63.
- Khidr Khān Panni**, father of **Dāwūd Khān**, I. 62 f.n.
- Khilāfat**, I. 2, 9.
—of **Qādiriyya**, III. 14.
- Khilāfat-i-chishtīyya**, III. 16.
- Khil'at**, I. 51, 52, 54 and f.n., 114, 133; II. 15.
—given to the governor of **Devanampatan**, I. 123.
- Khudā-banda Khān**, fourth *Dīwān* of **Aṣaf Jāh**, I. 49, 52, 53.
- Khulāṣatul-Ansāb**, a work of **Qudrat Aḥmad**, IV. 61, 96, 100.
- Khurinda bāsh**, I. 28.
- Khurshid Bānū**, the *haram* of **Majd-ud-Dawla Bahādur** and mother of two daughters, IV. 106-7.
- Khurshid Ḥasan Mūsawī**, IV. 33, 34.
—appointed to assist **Muḥammad Karīm Khān Bahādur**, III. 7.
- Khurshid Kulāh Bēgam** (**Amatūl-Zahrā Bēgam**), IV. 76, 77.
- Khurshid-maḥall**, residence of **Muḥammad Karīm** and **'Abida Bēgam**, IV. 45.
- Khurshidul-Mulk**, a title of **Ghulām Zāmin Muḥammad Karīm**, IV. 85.
- Khurshidul-Mulk Ṣāhibūd-Dawla Jalādat Jang Bahādur**, a title conferred on **Muḥammad Karīm Khān Bahādur** by **Amīrūl-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb Aḡimūd-Dawla Bahādur**, III. 4.
- Khurshidul-Mulk Iftikhārūd-Dawla Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamsām Jang**, a title conferred on **Muḥammad Karīm Khān Bahādur** by **Amīrūl-Hind Wālājāh 'Umdatul-Umarā Nawwāb A'ḡam Jāh Bahādur**, III. 4.
- Khusrō**, **Amīrūl-Hind Wālājāh** said to have had the command of, I. xxiii.
- Khwāja Abdullāh Khān**, I. 54; a Turanian, the *ṣāba* of Arcot entrusted to, by **Aṣaf Jāh**, I. 48.
—the **Nāḡim** of **Payanghat**, I. 49.
—given leave by **Aṣaf Jāh** to go to the *niḡmat* of Arcot, I. 51.
—appointment of, by **Aṣaf Jāh** to the *niḡmat* of Arcot, I. 80, 82-84.
—*niḡmat* of, at Arcot, I. 84-85.
—death of, I. 51-2; II. 177.
- Khwāja 'Aṣim Khān Bahādur Mubāriz Jang**, III. 63.
- Khwāja Ḥāfiḡ Shīrāzī**, a poet, I. 143.
- Khwāja Mawdūd Khān**, the grandson of **Nawwāb Mubāriz Khān**, found refuge under **Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḷā**, II. 15.

- Khwāja Mīr Khāfi, I. 15 *f.n.*
Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, III. 14 *n.*
Khwāja Ni'matullāh Khān, entrusted with the affairs of Arcot during his absence in the Deccan, I. 84.
Khwāja Raḥmatullāh Khān, elder brother of Khwāja 'Abdullāh Khān, I. 84.
Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Khān, a hereditary *sanad* for the grant of the Carnatic Pāyānghāt and Bālāghāt, to Qhulām Ḥusayn was got through, II. 8.
—*vakil* of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, entrusted with the work of submitting an '*arḡdāsh*' to 'Alī Gawhar Shāh 'Alam, II. 272-3.
Khwājas of Tūran, I. 84.
Kilān Bēgam, *d.* of Nāṣirud-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabibullāh Khān *m.* Mumtāẓud-Dawla Sirājūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 111.
Kilpatric (*Vakil* Pādar), II. 94.
Kinneer, Major, II. 133 *f.n.*
Kirkatpala (Karunkuli), I. xxviii, xxx.
Kirmān ruled by the Kutlugh Khāns, I. 20 *f.n.*, mother of Anwarūd-Dīn of the lineage of, I. 20.
Kishan Rao, the clerk, III. 18.
Kishan Rao, sent along with Sayyid 'Alī Khān to subdue the fort of Tiyaḡgadh, II. 238, 253 *n.*
Kishansāmī Mudalī, III. 106.
Kisrā, the mandate of, I. xxiii.
Kitty, same as Catherine Aurora, III, 136 *n.*
Kitty Kirkpatrick, III. 136 *n.*
Kodambakkam (Karampāk), marriage of Muḥammad Karim and 'Abida Bēgam at, IV. 43-4.
Koduttalam, battle of, I. 74.
Kongana Nāyak, built Baswapatan, I. 114 *f.n.*
Koviladi (Koḷladi), II. 86, 88, 111, 118 *n.*, 164 *n.*, 168.
—granted to Manaji Rao, II. 124.
Krishnapur (Krishnavaram) siege and battle of, II. 101 and *f.n.*; battle at, II. 128 *n.*
Kulḥūm Bēgam, daughter of Nawwāb Wālājāh III, *m.* Qhulām Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Rastagār Jang, IV. 74.
Kulḥūm Bī, the *nikaḥ* wife of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, 'Abdul-Karīm Khān, the son of, IV. 68, 69.
Kundūr, a place near Tanjore, II 152.
Kuriltay, diet of the chiefs of all tribes, I. 5 *f.n.*
Kurnool, Himmat Bahādur Khān, the *nāḡim* of, II. 57.
Kurōh, a measure of distance, I. xxviii, xxxi, I. 52, 74, 89, 93, 96; II. 2, 32, 52, 84, 85, 88, 95, 106, 110, 121, 203, 242, 252, 261, 263.
Kurukī, name of a coin, I. 99 *f.n.*
Kuthalchangam, I. 140.
"Labbayk", the pilgrim's song, I. 18 and *f.n.*
- L
- La Bourdonnais, II. 63.
Lachman Prasad, III. 149.
Lādli Bēgam sāḥiba, aunt of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 109.
Lahore, IV. 57.
Lahri M. (Līr, Līrī, Layrit), II. 171 190, 195; letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to, and reply of, II. 182. M. Lally joined by, II. 200; imprisonment of, by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 270.
—despatched to the country of the English, II. 270 *n.* 271.
Lālā Bhawānī Prashād, III. 18.
Lālā Lachman Prasad, III, 149, 152.
Lāl Bādshāh ('Abdul-Quddūs), IV. 64.
Lālī Bēgam (Dawlatun-nisā Bēgam), wife of, 'Aḡimūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and mother of two sons and two daughters, IV. 73-74.
Lāl-maḥall, a mistress of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 87, 88.

INDEX PARTS—I-IV

- Lally, M., II. 192, 216 *n.*, 217 *n.* 244.
 —capture of the Fort of Devanampattan and march to Chennapattan by, I. 125.
 —defeated by Sir Eyre Coote at Wandiwash, II. 18 *f.n.*
 —joined by M. Bussy, II. 181.
 —sent to subjugate Hindustan, II. 187.
 —arrival of, at Maskarīn (Mas-careigne) with M. Kandistān, II. 187-8.
 —joined by M. Bussy, II. 188, 189 *f.n.*
 —subjugation of Dewnampattan and its devastation by, II. 191, 194-5.
 —plan of, to attack Tanjore, and his plunder of Nagore, II. 195-96.
 —failure of, at Tanjore, II. 198-9 and *f.n.*
 —preparations of, to subjugate Chennapattan and the whole territory of Arcot and instal Rīza Ālī Khān on the throne of Arcot, II. 200-03.
 —siege of Chennapattan by, 203-08.
 —Chennapattan reduced to difficulties by, II. 208-9.
 —discouragement of, II. 217.
 —fight of, with Abdūl-Wahhāb Khān Bahādūr and Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān Bahādūr at Frangī-kūnda, II. 218-220; retreat of, to Chennapattan, and departure to Kanji after some fight, II. 220-25.
 —retreat to and defeat of, at Kanji, and his flight to Arcot, II. 225-8 and 226 *n.*
 —despatch of M. Bussy by, to seek the help of Basālat Jang of Adhoni, II. 229.
 —joined by Dhūl-Faqār Jang, II. 230.
 —attack of the fort of Wandwāsī by, his failure and flight to Phulcheri, II. 233-6.
 —defeat of, at Phulcheri, II. 252-56.
 —defeat of, at Yalānūr, II. 256-58.
 —defeat of, at the towers of Adyākūpam and Wadgara and his flight to Tādpān, II. 259-61.
 Lally, M. refuge and defeat of, at Tādpān, and his flight to Phulcheri, II. 261-2.
 —helplessness of, and peace sued by, II. 268-69.
 —imprisonment of, II. 270.
 —dispatched to the country of the English, II. 270 *n.*; 271.
 —siege of Fort St. George by, IV 65-6 *n.*
 Lanbīr M. (Landivisian). M. Lally joined by, II. 201.
 Lār, *see* Muḥammad Lār, I. 7.
 Lār Bēgam šāḥiba, daughter of Mīr 'Adil Khān šāḥib and wife of Nawwāb Shukōḥul-Mulk Naṣīrud-Dawla Bahādūr, IV. 63.
 Lārī Bēgam, *d.* of Mīr 'Adil Khān šāḥib, *m.* Nawwāb Shukōḥul-Mulk, and mother of two sons and two daughters, IV. 91.
 Las. M. II. 114, 117, 122. *See also* Law. *Lashkarī*, a title of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwaru'd-Dīn, I. 21.
 Laṭīfa, III. 25.
 Laṭīf Bēg, the *dārūgha* of horses III. 93.
 Laṭīf Bēg Khān, *Qāy'im Jang Bahādūr*, a title of, IV. 18.
 Law, M. II. 110 *f.n.*, 118 *n.*
 —and the march against Tanjore along with Hidāyat Muḥiyy'd-Dīn Khān, II. 4.
 —grant of title to, II. 63.
 —defeat of, at Samīwāram. II. 111-113 and *f.n.*
 —advice of, to Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, II. 120-1.
 —imprisonment of, II. 126-7.
 —surrender of, II. 130 *f.n.*
 Lawrence Major, General, I. 125, 191, II. 17 and *n.*, 41, 42 *n.*, 105, 106-07 *n.*, 111-12 *n.*, 118 *n.*, 128-9 *n.*, 131 *n.*, 134, 142 *n.*, 149 *n.*, 152 *n.* 155, 158, 159, 160-61, 162, 163, 164 *n.*, 170 174, 203-4 and 203 *n.*, 205, 216 *n.*
 —joined Naṣīr Jang from Fort St. David, II. 24 *f.n.*
 —sent to Chennapattan, II. 128.
 —arrival of, at Bakram, II. 136.

Lawrence, General, honoured by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā, II. 173.

—letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā to, II. 216.

—residence in the garden of, purchased by the *sarkār*. II. 219.

Leith Castle, perhaps the building built by Muḥammad Kamāl, IV. 47 and *n*.

Līr, Līrī, *see* Lahri, M.

Lōrshampāk, got from Dāwūd *Khān* by the English East India Company, I. 100.

Louis XV, letter of, to Nawwāb Muḥammad ʿAlī *Khān*, I. 105-06.

Lucknow, IV. 50, 51.

Luqmān (Luqmān-al-Ḥakīm), a person of eminence, III. 41 and *n*.

Luṭfūn-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Ghulām Khayrullāh and second wife of Ghulām Kāgim Iʿtizādūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 83.

Luṭfūn-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. and Amīna Bī, *m.* Maḥfūẓ *Khān*, IV. 88.

Maʿārijūʿ-i-wilāyat, a work of Ḥaẓrat Shakar Ganj, IV. 57.

Maḥsirul-Umarā, I. 64 *n.*, 90 *n*.

Maḥsirul-Umarā-i-Tīmariyya, a work of Shāh Nawāz *Khān*, II. 179 *f.n*.

Macartney, Lord, and Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā. I. 124 and *f.n*.

Macedon, Alexander of, I. XXII. *f. n*.

Machlibandar, (Pattan) (Masulipatam) I. 39 and *n.* II. 200, IV. 79, 109; *niḡmat* of, II. 176.

Mac Neil, Colonel, IV. 1-2 *n.*, meeting of, with Colonel Barrett Bahādur, IV. 1-2.

—made arrangements for guarding Kalas-maḥall, Fataḥ-chawki, Nuṣrat-maḥall etc., IV. 7.

—meeting of Aẓimūd-Dawla by, IV. 9.

—Bahrām Jang Bahādur and Sālār Jang Bahādur questioned by, IV. 106.

Madārī Bēgam (Aẓimūn-nisā Bēgam), *d.* of Nawwāb Shukūḥul-

Mulk and Lārī Bēgam, *m.* Nawwāb Amīrul-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 91.

Madārul-muḥām. IV. 35.

Madārul-Mulk Amīrul-Umarā Bahādur, brother of Nawwāb ʿUmdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 148.

Madārul-Mulk, a title of Muḥammad Munawwar, II. 8, 9, III. 149.

—son of, suspected of theft of mangoes from the Governor's garden, III. 155.

—father of Aẓimūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 9.

Madras *see* (Chennapatan) foundation of, I. 98-104.

Madrasa, maintained by the *sarkār*, IV. 31.

Madīnah, I. 33, II. 41, IV. 28, 95.

—the Illuminated, I. 2, II. 12, IV. 18.

—pilgrimage of Anwarūd-Dīn to, I. 16-19.

—hereditary rights in, of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā renewed by the Sultan of Rūm, II. 12.

—*nadhīr* sent to, by Aẓimūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, IV. 18.

—*qandils* dispatched to, by Muḥammad ʿAlī *Khān* Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 23.

—Sālīm, a *faqīh* at; IV. 56.

Madīna ʿAlī *Khān*, repulse by, of the attack of Rīzā ʿAlī *Khān* at Arcot and Arni, II. 91-96 and *f.n*.

Madura (Madhra), II. 69, 215, 216 *n.*, 245, 265.

—under the jurisdiction of Trichinopoly, I. 128, 129.

—entrusted to Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ *Khān*, II. 245.

—fort of, built by Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ *Khān*, II. 264.

—ʿAbdūl-Quddūs, the *tabilluqḍār* of, IV. 64.

Maḥall-i-ʿāliya a name of Nawwāb ʿInāyatūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 70, 71.

Maḥalls.

- Humāyūn-Maḥall, III. 45, 76, 88.
 Kalas-maḥall, III. 22, 23, 42, 43, 48, 56, 68, 69, 70, 77, 88, 89, 108, 111, 112, 117, 120, 121, 134, 135, 137, IV. 6, 11, 28, 33, 46, 48, 49.
 —guards appointed to keep watch over, IV. 7.
 —repair of, IV. 15, 32.
 Nuṣrat-maḥall, III. 63, 64, 65, 81, 116, 117, 129, 165, 166, 167, 171, 172, 177, 183, IV. 2.
 —construction of a new building called, III. 68.
 —opposite the *Kamān Darwāza*, III, 184.
 —guards appointed to keep watch over, IV. 7.
 —stay of Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur in, IV. 15.
 —demolition of, III. 184.
 Shādī-maḥall, IV. 23, 32, 33, 51.
 —the residence of Dulārī Bēgam Ṣāhibā in, III. 32.
 —situated on the High Road in Triplicane, IV. 33-4.
 —*dārul-amḍra* of, IV. 34.
 Maharaja Arjun Jaswant, a title of Mahratta Janūji, II. 63.
 Maḥbūb Subḥānī, the pure soul, III. 39, IV. 9, *fātiḥa* of, III. 143.
 Maḥbūb Subḥānī (Sayyid or *Shaykh* Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī Ḥusayn-ul-Ḥusaynī) founder of the Qādiriyya order of mendicants, IV. 29 and *n.*
 Maḥfūḡ Khān, *m.* Maryamun-nisā Bēgam, IV. 87.
 —*m.* Luṭḡun-nisā Bēgam as his second wife, IV. 88.
 Maḥfūḡ Khān Bahādur, Muḥammad, I. 119 *f.n.* deliverance of, obtained by Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḡla, II. 2.
 —preparations of, to oppose Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḡla, II. 264; Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān sent to subjugate the rebellion of, II. 265.
 Māḥi-marḍtib. II. 34 and 34-5 *f.n.*
 Maḥmūd-bandar (Porto Novo), I. 121, II. 12.
 Mahrattas, I. 45, 46, 47.
 Maḥṣūl, I. 104.
 Maḥtāb Bēgam, III. 100, 101: Raḡiya Bēgam, brought up by, IV. 69.
 Mainville. II. 166 *f.n.*
 Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur, III. 91, 146, 153, 165, 166.
 Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur, (Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur), IV. 103-04.
 —elder brother of Kaniz-i-Zahra Muḥammadatun-nisā Bēgam, IV. 85.
 —marriage of, III. 10.
 —marriage of, with the daughter of Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Bahādur, III. 78-79.
 —*m.* Amatul-Zahrā Bēgam, IV. 77.
 —*d.* of, *m.* to Ghulām Kāḡim Khān, IV. 84.
 —father of Tāhirun-nisā Bēgam, IV. 75.
 —father of Sājida Bēgam, IV. 77.
 —father of Mumtāzu'd-Dawla Sirāju'd-Dīn Khān, IV. 111.
 Majdu'd-Dawla Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Bahādur Muḡaffar Jang, same as Ghulām Khayrullāh, IV. 83.
 Mājīd, same as Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 68.
 Majlis, I. 25, 27, 28, II. 15.
 —of the Sharif of Makka, I. 13.
 Makhdūm Alī Khān, II. 253.
 Makhdūm Nāyik. defeat of, at Phulcheri, II. 253, 255.
makhmal, I. 126.
 Makhrāskuppam, place of, granted to the East India Company, I. 98, 99.
 Makka, the exalted, I. 1, 12, 33, II. 41, 152, IV. 90.
 —the honoured, IV. 18.
 —Sharif of, I. 13.
 —pilgrimage of Muḥammad Anwarud-Dīn to, I. 16-19.
 —hereditary rights in, of Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḡla renewed by the Sulṭān of Rūm, II. 12.
 —the honoured, *nadhīr* sent to, by Aḡimud-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Walājāh III, IV. 18.

- Makka, a gilded ladder dispatched to, by A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, IV. 23.
- the honoured, *qandils* and a ladder dispatched to, by Muḥammad Āli Bahādur Wālājāh I, IV. 23.
- Malabar, Malaiwar, (Maliwār), II. 26, 215; zamindar of, I. 59.
- Maliarpha, Mylapore, I. 92 n.
- Mālgusār* II. 35; person paying revenue assessed on an estate or village, I. 132 and *f.n.*
- Malhar Rao Holkar, II. 143 *f.n.*
- Malik Aslam Khān, head of the chronicle office of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, I. 109.
- the superintendent of news in the court of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 128.
- Malik Aslam Khān, appointed councillor of Ghulām Ḥusayn, II. 241.
- Malik Aslam Khān, bosom friend of the father of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, sent along with Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, II. 265.
- Malik Ḥusayn, lieutenant of Randūla Khān, I. 113 *f.n.*
- Malik Nāṣir, founder of the city of Burhānpūr, 3 *f.n.*
- Malik Rājā Fārūqī, the first Muslim ruler of Khāndesh, I. 3 *f.n.*
- Malikūl-ḥukamā, III. 165, 166.
- Malikūl-ḥukamā Ḥakīm Aḥmadul-lāh Khān Bahādur, III. 94, 95, 153.
- Malikūl-ḥukamā Ḥakīm Aḥmad Khān, III. 164.
- Malikūl-Ulamā, III. 50.
- Malikūl-Ulamā Mawlānā Abdūl-Ālī Shāhib, III. 63.
- Malikūn-nisā Bēgam Shāhiba, Nawwāb, a title of Daryā Bēgam, II. 9, III. 25, 79, 81, 82, 106, 128, 162.
- daughter of Muḥammad Āli Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, *m.* Mawlawī Abdūl-Wālī Khān I'tiṣāmūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 65-6 and *n.*, 67.
- second sister of Nawwāb Um-datūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 66.
- mother of Muḥammadī Bēgam, III. 78.
- Malikūn-nisā Bēgam Shāhiba, birth of Muḥammadī Miyān, a grandson to, III. 89-93.
- anxiety of, over the small-pox of her son-in-law Muḥammad Karīm, III. 96, relief of, at his recovery, III. 98.
- daughter of, married to Muḥammad Karīm, IV. 42.
- children of, IV. 83-4.
- Malikūsh-shur'd* (poet-laureate), I. xxv.
- Manaji Rao, general of the Rāja of Tanjore, II. 111 and *f.n.*, 119 n.
- and Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, II. 122.
- meeting of, with Ḥazrat-i-A'lā, II. 123-24; murder of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān by, II, 124-26.
- Manaparai, a *qasba*, I. 129, II. 26.
- Mānī, II. 260.
- Manipārah, II. 239.
- Manjhli Shāhib-Zādī, a name of Malikūn-nisā Bēgam, III. 25.
- Mannū Bēgam (Munawwarūn-nisā Bēgam), IV. 95.
- Manṣab, I. 36 n. 37, 38, II. 34.
- of two thousand and two thousand horses granted by Awrangzēb to Ḥājī Anwarūd-Dīn., I. 16, 19.
- Mansūrpēt, I. 133, 134.
- camp of Ḥazrat-i-A'lā at, II. 242.
- Manṣūrūd-Dawla Bahādur, son of Shukōhūl-Mulk Mumtāzūl-Umarā Bahādur *m.* the *d.* of Qudrat Karīm Khān, IV. 95.
- Manu Lāl Rāj, the *munshi* of Nawwāb Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn, I. 25.
- Mansil*, a unit of measure, I. 23, 47, 72, 73, 126, 129, 133; II. 110, 129, 141, 172, 173, 191, 203, 238, 239; IV. 58.
- Maqbūlūn-nisā Bēgam (Bēgam Bahū) *d.* of Majdūd Dawla Bahādur (Ghulām Khayrullāh) *m.* Ghulām Muḥammad Āli Naṣībūd-Dawla (Muḥammadī Miyān), IV. 83, 107.
- Marsin M. (Moracine), M. Lally joined by, II. 200.

- Marquis(ess) of Wellesley, same as Lord Mornington, III. 113 *n.*, IV. 4 *n.*
- Maryam'un-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. and Ḥamīda Bēgam *m.* Maḥfūz Khān, IV. 87.
- Mascareigne (Maskarīn), II. 188.
- Maṣḥhad, the Glorious, II. 12.
- Masīḥu'z-Zamān Khān, the paymaster of the army of Nawwāb Sirāj'ud-Dawla, I. 108.
- Masjid-i-Muḥammadī, name of a mosque, I. 132.
- Maskarīn (Mascareigne) arrival of M. Lally at, II. 188.
- Māskilīth, garden of, III. 103.
- Māskūl, Captain, II. 205.
- Massin, M., II. 166 *f.n.*
- Mas'ūd, a descendant of 'Abdullāh Awsaṭ, I. 5.
- Mas'ūd, son of 'Abdullāh Wā'iz Aṣ-ghar and father of Shaykh Sulaymān, IV. 56.
- Masulipatam (Machhlibandar), IV. 79, 109.
- Mauritius (Muirs), II. 248.
- Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alī Ṣāḥib, III. 14, 43, 46, 116, 126.
- the title *Malik'ul-Ulamā* conferred upon, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 56.
- visit of, to Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 167.
- confessions of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to, III. 179-80.
- in charge of sending the coffin of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to Nattharnagar, III. 184.
- Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy Ziyāullāh Khān II, IV. 98.
- Mawlānā 'Abdullāh Ḥātifi, II. 75.
- Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī, III. 2 *n.*
- Mawlānā Ṣāḥib, III. 110, 182, invited to recite verses from the holy Qurān, III. 181.
- Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Walī Khān Bahādur, a title of 'Abdu'l-Walī, II. 9, 10.
- Mawlawī 'Abdu'l-Walī Khān I'tiṣām'ud-Dawla Bahādur, brother of 'Abdu'l-Hādī Khayr'ud-Dīn Khān Ṣamṣām'ud-Dawla Bahādur, *m.*
- Nawwāb Malik'un-nisā Bēgam, IV. 66.
- Mawlawī Aḥmad Kalīm Khān, appointed executor of the orders of the Court of justice by Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur, the regent, IV. 31.
- the *Kachahri Munfidh-i-aḥkām* entrusted to, IV. 34.
- Mawlawī Bukhārī ṣāḥib, appointed *hakim-i-sharā'* by Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, IV. 23.
- Mawlawī Imām Bakhsh, III. 20.
- Mawlawī Irtaẓā 'Alī Khān Bahādur Afzal'ul-'Ulamā, son of Ghulām Muḥtabā, appointment of, as Qāẓi'ul-quzzāt at Madras, IV. 101.
- Mawlawī Jamāl ṣāḥib, IV. 31.
- Mawlawī Jamāl'ud-Dīn Ḥasan Khān, dismissal of, IV. 31.
- Mawlawī Muḥammad Ghawṭh ṣāḥib, appointed *dīwān* by Aẓīm'ud-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, IV. 17.
- Mawlawī Muṣṭafā 'Alī Khān, son of Khayr'ud-Dīn Khān I, IV. 98.
- wife and children of, IV. 100-101.
- Mawlawī Qudrat Hafīz, son of Qudrat Raḥīm Khān, IV. 99.
- Mawlawī Qudrat Mu'in'ud-Dīn, son of Qudrat Muḥammad, IV. 98-99.
- Mawlawī Rāmpūri, IV. 31.
- Mawlawī Shihāb'ud-Dīn Khān, in charge of the *madrasa* maintained by the *sarkār*, IV. 31.
- Mawlawī Wajī'ud-Dīn II, a saint living at Gopāmaw, I. 20.
- Mason, I. 78.
- McLean, Colonel, *sardār* of the English army, III. 176-7.
- arrangements of, after the death of the Nawwāb, III. 183.
- Mecca, I. 143.
- Medak *qasba*, I. 47.
- Mīnā-bāzār, III. 11; excursion to, III. 118-20.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Minākshi, queen of Vijayaranga Chokkanātha of Trichinopoly, I. 70 *f.n.*

—Rani of Trichinopoly, I. 83 *f.n.*

Mir, see Mir Ismā'il Khān Abjadī, I. xxv, xxvi.

Mir Abbās Husayn, son of Mir Ali Yār Khān, IV. 43.

Mir Abjadī Šāhib, teacher of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā, and author of the *Anwarnāmā*, III. 40.

Mir Abū Ṭālib Khān, III. 21, 102.

—consolation offered by, to Malikun-nisā Bēgam, III. 90.

Mir Abū Ṭālib Khān, son of Ghālib Khān appointed *sardār* of the infantry by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, I. 132.

Mir 'Adil Khān šāhib, father of Lārli Bēgam, IV. 63, 91.

Mir Aḥmad, the name of Nawwāb Niẓāmud-Dawla Bahādur Nāšir Jang, I. 55, 56.

Mir 'Ālam Bahādur, III. 11, 133 *n.*, 134; successor of Ariṣṭojāh Aẓamul-Umarā, III. 135 *n.*, interview of, with Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 135-138; return visit of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to, III. 138-9.

Mir Ali Yār Khān, father of Mir Munawwar Husayn and Mir Abbās Husayn, IV. 43.

Mir Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, appointed *Diwān* by Šafdar Ali Khān, I. 75-77.

—imprisonment of, at Vellore by Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān, I. 80.

—*Diwān* of Nawwāb Šafdar Ali Khān, I. 102, 107-08.

—released from the fort of Vellore and appointed *nāib* to the *niẓāmat* of Vellore, II. 174.

—joined Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 189.

—appointed to defend Chennapat-tan, II. 193.

—reappointed *nāib* of the *šūba* of Arcot, II. 237.

—*burqdāsh* of, to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 242.

—order of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to supply provisions, II. 254.

Mir Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, *par-wānas* of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā to provide for the dependants of Husayn Dōst Khān, II. 267.

—the *jāgīr* of Pondicherry entrusted to, II. 272.

Mir Ismā'il Khān Bahādur son of Mir Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, III. 7, 8, 18, 29, 34, 49.

—letter of Muḥammad 'Izzud-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang Nāmī about the poem of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur and, III. 27-28.

—entitled to the style of his father, III. 46.

—the title *Mir Asadullāh Khān Bahādur* conferred upon, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 57.

Mir Asadullāh Khān Bahādur (the junior) III. 70, 76, 77, 102, 140, 161, 173, 174, 180, 184; IV. 2, 5, 48.

—and the construction of the Fataḥ-chawki, III. 67-8.

—and the marriage of Tājul-Umarā-Bahādur, III. 108 *f.*

—message sent by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to Ghulām Jilānī Khān through, III. 123, 124; appointed to conduct the marriage of Muḥammad Ḥabibullāh Khān Nāširud-Dawla Bahādur, III. 126.

Mir Asadullāh Khān, the senior, III. 7; the ancestor of 'Ābida Bēgam, a minister of Muḥammad Ali Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, and the *nāib* at Darūnnūr Muḥammadpūr, IV. 43.

Mir Dawrān, son of Mir 'Ālam, III. 137, 139.

Mir Dāyim (Ali) Khān, II. 32, 50; (Qāzī Aḥmad or Qāzī Dāyim, *sardār* of the advance guard of the Deccan army) success of, at Silambar (Chidambaram), II. 29 *f.n.* 30-31 and *f.n.*

—advice of, to Nawwāb Nāšir Jang, II. 55-6.

—warning of, to Nawwāb Nāšir Jang against Rāja Ramdas, II. 49 *f.n.*

- Mir Ghulām Ali Azād, II. 179 *f.n.*
 Mir Ghulām Husayn Khān, grand-
 father of Mir Khurshīd Hasan
 Mūsawī, III. 7.
 Mir Hāshim Ali, of Machhlībandar
 father of Shādī Bēgam, IV. 79.
 Mir Ismā'il Khān Abjadī, I. 31 *f.n.*
 —(the *Malikush-shu'ra* of Nawwāb
 Amīr-ul-Hind Wālājāh I), com-
 manded to write the history of the
 family of Anwar, I. xxv.
 —an account of the life of, given
 in the introduction to the *Tāsah-i-*
Wālājāhī, I. xxviii-xxxii.
 —author of the *Anwar-nāma*, III.
 5; IV. 113 *ff.*
 Mir Ja'far Ali, III. 19, attack of the
 Nawwāb by, III. 10.
 Mir Jalālūd-Dīn Khān, father of
 Sayyid Murtaẓā Husaynī, IV. 107.
 Mir Jumla, life of, and invasion of
 Mylapore by, I. 90-91 and *f.n.*
 —Sayyid Badrūd-Dīn a follower
 of, I. 92.
 Mir Khurshīd Hasan Mūsawī, the
 grandson of Mir Asadullāh Khān
 Bahādur, IV. 43, 116.
 Mir Madina Ali Khān, II. 100, 105.
 —nāib of Arcot, order of Hazrat-
 i-A'lā to, II. 137-8.
 Mir Mahdī Ali Khān, III. 99.
 —honoured with the title *Bahā-*
dur, III. 93.
 Mir Mahdī Khān, III. 60.
 Mir Mahdī shāhib, great-grand-
 father of Murtaẓā Bēgam, IV. 82.
 Mir Mahmūd, I. 147.
 Mir Malang (a name of Zafar Ali
 Khān, II. 87.
 Mir Manşūr, a son of Mir Nizāmūd-
 Dīn Ahmad, II. 6.
 Mir Manşūr Ali Khān, order of Haz-
 rat-i-A'lā to subjugate the forts of
 the French situated on the coast of
 the sea, to, II. 137.
 Mir Muhammad, *bakhshī* of Hidāyat
 Muhiyyūd-Dīn Khān, II. 33.
 Mir Muhammad Darwēsh, romancer,
 III. 31.
 Mir Muhammad Sa'id, *see* Mir Jum-
 la, I. 90 *f.n.*
 Mubārīz Khān, Nawwāb, grandfather
 of Khwāja Mawdūd Khān, *nāzim*
 of Haydarābād, II. 15 and *f.n.*
 Mir Munawwar Husayn, son of Mir
 Ali Yār Khān, IV. 43.
 Mir *munshī*, Rāja Bhakunt Rāo
 Bahādur, the, IV. 35.
 Mir Muẓaffar, II. 178.
 Mir Muẓaffar Ali, a *Sayyid*, I. 124.
 Mir Nizāmūd-Dīn Ahmad, a nephew
 of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawiyyūl-
 Mūsawī, the Deccan reached by,
 II. 6.
 Mir Sāhib (Abdur-Rahmān) dispos-
 sessed of Kavanasur by the
 French, II. 189 *f.n.*
 Mir-sāmān, Amīr Nawāz Jang Bahā-
 dur, the, IV. 34.
 Mir Sayfullāh, the agent of ignoble
 traitors, II, 55, 56; death of, II. 69.
 Mir Tayyib, an accomplice in the
 murder of Safdar Ali Khān, I. 78,
 79.
 Mir Walī Fayyād, the uncle of Mir
 Asadullāh Khān, I. 75.
 Mirzā Ali Bakht Bahādur, visits of,
 to Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Naw-
 wāb Wālājāh II, and his return
 visit to, IV. 48-49; a great scho-
 lar, IV. 48 *n.*
 —trip of, to Murshidābād, his re-
 turn to Madras with Mirzā Izid
 Bakhsh Bahādur son of his brother
 Mirzā Jalālūd-Dīn, and visit of, to
 Nawwāb Aẓimūd-Dawla Bahādur
 Nawwāb Wālājāh III, 49-50.
 —'Abida Bēgam, the *d. of*, *m.* to
 Abdūl-Qādir Khān, IV. 103.
 Mirzā Amānī shāhib same as Mirzā
 Muhammad Anūmūd-Dīn shāhib
 brother of Prince Mirzā Ali Bakht
 Bahādur, IV. 48.
 Mirzā Ghazanfar Ali, grant of the
 title of Hādī Ali Khān and the
 office of *urg-begi* to, III. 93.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Mirzā Ghulām Husayn (Mirza Ghulām Husayn Khān Bahādur Sardār Jang), a son of Hāfiz Muḥammad Abdul-Husayn Khān, IV. 82-3.
- Mirza Haydar Alī, III. 93.
- Mirzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahādur, IV. 50; a descendant of king Timūr, visit of, with his retinue to Madras during the reign of Muḥammad Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 46-47.
- Mirzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur, reception of, by A'zam Jāh Fakhru'l-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 51; by Nawwāb A'zimjāh Bahādur the regent, IV. 51-52.
- Mirzā Izīd Bakhsh Bahādur, son of Mirzā Jalālud-Dīn, younger brother of Mirzā Alī Bakht Bahādur, visit of, to A'zimud-Dawla Bahādur Amīru'l-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh III. with his uncle, IV. 50; death of, IV. 51.
- Mirzā Jalālud-Dīn, younger brother of Mirzā Alī Bakht Bahādur, death of, IV. 50.
- Mirzā Tajūd-Dīn Bahādur, Madras reached by, when Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur was ill, and visit of, to A'zimud-Dawla Bahādur Amīru'l-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh III. on his accession, IV. 49.
- Misbahullāh Khān Multazim Jang Bahādur, *d. of, m. to* Mawlawī Qudrat Muḥnud-Dīn, IV. 99.
- Misbahullāh Khān Bahādur, the *dārogha of Toshak-khāna* and a companion of Nawwāb A'zim Jāh Bahādur, the regent, IV. 38.
- Misr (Egypt), I. 86.
- Misrī Bēgam. *m.* Khān-i-Jahān Khān Bahādur Tahawwur Jang, IV. 91.
- Moon, splitting of the, III. 2 and *n.*
- Mornington, Lord, (Marquess of Wellesley,) IV. 4 *n.*, Governor-General of Bengal, visit of, to Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 113-15.
- Mōti Bēgam, first daughter of Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, and Nawwāb Bēgam, betrothed to Ghulām Muḥiyyud-Dīn, but died before the marriage, II. 9, IV. 65, 67.
- Mu'awiya, father of Yazīd and *khalifa* after Alī, IV. 16 *n.*
- Muḥzzamul-Haq Zakiyyud - Dīn Khān II, IV. 96.
- Mubarakun-nisā Bēgam, (Bastan Bēgam), *m.* A'zimud-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, IV. 73.
- Mubarakun-nisā Bēgam, mother of Muḥammad Alī Husayn Khān, III. 21.
- Mubarakun-nisā Bēgam, (Gasitī Bēgam), mother of Alī Husayn, IV. 68.
- Mubāriz Jang Bahādur III, 15, 16, 23, 34, 35, 45-6, 51, 53, 55, 116, 117, 135, 136, IV. 2, 46, 114.
- appointment of, as *dīwān*, III. 56.
- dislike of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur for, III. 60.
- inability of, to find money, III. 74, 75.
- consolation offered by, to Malikun-nisā Bēgam, III. 90.
- newly built house of, III. 132.
- Mubāriz Khān, I. 39 and *n.*, a companion of Ghalib Khān, I. 132.
- Mufti, an office, 23.
- Mufti Badrud-Dawla, Director of the *Madrasa*, IV. 31, 35.
- appointed *hākim-i-shara'* in succession to Mawlawī Bukhārī shāhib, IV. 23.
- Mufti Umdatul - Ulamā Badrud-Dawla Bahādur, in charge of the *Darul-tadlat-i-ūliya* and *Kār-i-sadārat* IV. 34.
- Mughals, I. xxix.
- Mughal Alī Khān Bahādur, the sixth son of Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh, I. 136.
- Muḥabbat Alī Khān, son of Raḥmān Alī Khān III. 111.
- appointed to assist Muḥammad Karīm Khān Bahādur, III. 6.
- Muḥām Khāna, II. 11.

- Muḥammad, the Prophet III. 167 *n.*, IV. 16 *n.*
- Chief of the Apostles, I. 1, 2.
 - the *Ḥamla-i-Ḥaydarī*, a poetical biography of, and ʿAlī, III. 167 *n.*
 - the Chosen, III. 39; praise of, III. 2-3.
- Muḥammad, son of ʿAbdullāh, rebellion, capture and execution of, IV. 56.
- Muḥammad, the younger son of Naṣīrūd-Dīn, I. 2; descendants of, I. 3-4.
- Muḥammad ʿAbdūl-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādūr, III. 56; given the title of *Sirājūl-Mulk Dhul-faqrūd-Dawla Sardār Jang* by Nawwāb ʿUmdatul-Umarā Bahādūr, III. 57.
- Muḥammad ʿAbdullāh, a name of Ghulām Ḥasan, II. 8.
- Muḥammad ʿAbdullāh al-Ḥasan, same as Ghulām Ḥasan, II. 9.
- Muḥammad Abrār Khān, II. 25, 26, 71, 160, 162, 203-4, 205, 206, 211.
- the *sardār* of all the infantry of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, I. 108.
 - the *sardār* of the vanguard of the army of Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā, I. 122.
 - appointed *bakhshī* of the army by Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā, I. 131.
 - sent from Nattharnagar to Silambar (Chidambaram). II. 31.
 - pursuit of Chanda ṣāhib by, II. 34.
 - bakhshī* of Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā, gallantry of, at Jinji, II. 54.
 - sent for by Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā, II. 61.
 - success of, against the French at Samiwāram, II. 111-113 and *f.n.*
 - defeat of D'Auteuil by, II. 114-16.
 - defeat of the French by, II. 134.
 - success of, at Tiruvati, II. 149.
 - took Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān captive, II. 152.
 - letter of, Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā to, II. 216-17.
 - fight of, against the French, II. 221.
 - and the defeat of M. Lally at Kanjī, II. 227.
- Muḥammad Abrār Khān Bahādūr, and the capture of Wandwāsī, II. 231-2.
- and the defeat of the French at Wandwāsī, II. 233-6.
 - commanded by Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā to associate with Colonel Coote, II. 237.
 - welcomed Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā at Wardāwūr, II. 246.
 - Makhdūm Nāyik racked by, II. 255.
 - and the subjugation of Yalānūr, II. 258.
- Muḥammad Aḥmad, a descendant of ʿAbdullāh Awsaṭ, I. 5.
- Muḥammad Aḥmad, son of Yūsuf, and father of Shuḥyab, attained martyrdom at the hands of Chengēz Khān, IV. 57.
- Muḥammad Aḥsanūd-Dīn Khān Ṣāhib Shahīd, father of Khadija Bēgam, IV. 63.
- Muḥammad ʿAlī (styled as ʿAzīm Jāh Sirājūl-Umarā Bahādūr), IV. 70.
- Muḥammad ʿAlī, son of Qamarūd-Dīn Khān, *m. a d.* of Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān and Ikrāmūn-nisā, IV. 93.
- Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥusayn Khān Tajūl-Umarā Bahādūr, claims of, set aside by the British, III. 24 *n.*
- Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Bahādūr Amīrūl-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh I (Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā) son of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Sirājūd-Dawla Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr and father of ʿUmdatul-Umarā Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh II and Amīrūl-Umarā Bahādūr, I. 30, 60, 103 *n.*, 117, II. 3, 5, 24, 42 *n.*, 43 *n.*, 58 *n.*, 118 *n.*, 126 *n.*, 128-9 *n.*, 130 *n.*, 133 *n.*, 186, 223, III. 17, 18 *n.*, 30, 34, 36, 37, 41 *n.*, 51, 52, 58, 59, 66, 78, 83, 84, 90, 111 *n.*, 113, 120, 122, 124, 136, 138, 148, 149, 150, IV. 4 and *n.*, 22, 46, 55, 61, 70, 72, 75, 78, 102, 103, 113, 114, 115.
- life of the ancestors of, I. 1 *ff.*
 - brother of Karīmūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 101;
 - d.* of *m.* to ʿAbdūl-Hādī, IV. 101.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur, Ḥaẓrat Karīm-un-nisā Bēgam, younger sister of, III. 25.
- took his wife from among the descendants of Fāṭima, IV. 42.
- Barī-bibī, the wife by *nikāḥ* of, IV. 44.
- Nawwāb Sayf-ūl-Mulk Bahādur, third son of, III. 79 n., IV. 11 n.
- other wives and children of, IV. 86.
- grandfather of Ḥusām-ud-Dawla Qhulām Rīzā Khān, III. 81.
- Wājājāh I, children of, IV. 63-7.
- birth of Daryā Bēgam to, IV. 65-6 n.
- children of the daughters of, IV. 81.
- grandfather of Nawwāb 'Azī-m-ud-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 14.
- grandfather of Kaniz-i-zahrā, wife of Muḥammad Karīm, IV. 41.
- grandfather of Muḥammad Karīm, IV. 42.
- father of Amīr-ūl-Umarā, III. 23; IV. 5 n.
- Abdu'l-Wālī Khān a son-in-law of, IV. 103.
- Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, the minister of, IV. 43.
- Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Munawwar, his second son, the *diwān* of, IV. 63.
- sister of, *m.* to, Iftikhār-ud-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamṣām Jang, IV. 108-09.
- grandfather of Muḥammad Karīm Khayr-ud-Dīn Ḥasan Ghulām-Ẓāmin by his daughter Nawwāb 'Umadat-un-nisā Bēgam *alias* Fataḥ Bēgam Ṣāḥiba, III. 4.
- titles of, I. xxv.
- greatness of, I. xxiii-xv.
- command of, to Mīr Ismā'il Khān Abjadī to write the history of the family of Anwar, I. xxv.
- command of, to Burhān, to write the *Tasak-i-Walājāhī*, I. xxvi.
- obtaining of the *sanad* of the 'Illuminator' from the Court of the 'Uthmāniyya king, I. 18.
- Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur, rise of Manu Lāl during the reign of, I. 25.
- ruler of the Carnatic, titles of, I. 30.
- the *nawbat khāna* of, I. 42.
- appointed by Jān-i-Jahān in his place while going to help Aṣaf Jāh when Pandit Pradhān Pēshwa invaded the Deccan, I. 48.
- Muḥammadpūr, a name of Arcot after the name of, I. 60.
- Santhomē taken by Boscawen in the name of, I. 92 f.n.
- friendship of the English with, I. 97.
- administration of, I. 104-05.
- and the French, I. 105-06.
- and Mīr Asadullāh Khān, I. 107.
- Ghazanfar 'Alī Khān, a relation of the mother of, I. 108.
- the third son of Nawwāb Sirāj-ud-Dawla, looked after the *niẓāmat* of Ḥaydarābād as the successor of his father, I. 109.
- joined hands with Sirāj-ud-Dawla against Bābu Nāyak, I. 112.
- appointment of, by Sirāj-ud-Dawla to punish the French and help the English and his release of Devanampatan, and restoration of Chennapatan to the English, I. 116 ff.
- and Dupleix, I. 119 f.n.
- reply of, to M. Dupleix for his *arḍāshat*, I. 120.
- victory of, over the French, I. 121 f.n.
- and Mr. Coote, I. 124-25.
- appointed successor to Nawwāb Sirāj-ud-Dawla Bahādur I. 127.
- recall of, from Kanchi and appointment of, to the *ṣūba* of Trichinopoly, I. 128-31.
- niẓāmat* of, in the *ṣūba* of Trichinopoly, I. 131-32.
- defeat of, by the French at Tiruvati, II. 24 f.n.
- grant of *jāgirs* to the English by, I. 103 f.n.

INDEX—PARTS I-IV

- Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādur, obtained the deliverance of Muhammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur and others, II. 2.
- authority of, over Nattharnagar, II. 2.
- and the invasion of Tanjore by Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, II. 4.
- early life, prosperity and family affairs of, II. 5-10.
- character and daily routine of, II. 10-21.
- devotion of, to his father, II. 21-24.
- confirmation of, in the Government of the Carnatic by Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, II. 24 *f.n.*
- equipment by, of the army and strengthening of Nattharnagar on the death of his father, and letter of, to Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh and Nawwāb Nizāmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, on the affairs of the Carnatic, II. 24-27 and 24-25 *f.n.*
- reply of Nawwāb Nizāmūd-Dawla Bahādur to, II. 28-30.
- meeting of, with Nawwāb Nizāmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang II. 32.
- farmān* of Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh to, II. 34-6.
- appointed to settle the affairs of Tiruvati, II. 44.
- siege to the fort of Tiruvati by, and its postponement; meeting of, with Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, and, defeat of the French by, II. 46-53 and *f.n.*
- and the attack of Jinji, II. 53-54.
- return of, to Nattharnagar, II. 58-61.
- preparations of, for war to strike the enemy, and letters of, to Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh and Nawwāb Aṣafūd-Dawla Sayyid Ghāziūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang, II. 61-62.
- reply of, to Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, II. 63-4.
- preparations of, to fight against Husayn Dōst Khān, II. 69-78.
- Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādur, *farmān* to, from Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh, granting him the title *Umdatul-Mulk*, confirming his authority over the Carnatic and appointing him as the *nāib* to the *wasir* of the Deccan, and a letter from Nawwāb Aṣafūd-Dawla, II. 79-82.
- and the arrival of Husayn Dōst Khān at Nattharnagar, II. 82-88.
- the sending of Muhammad Madina Ali Khān by, for the subjugation of Arcot, II. 89-90.
- and Karāchūrī Nandraj and Murari Rao, II. 100-102.
- and Haydar Ali Khān, II. 103.
- summon of, to Yūnus Khān and Clive, II. 104-106.
- success of, against the French and Husayn Dōst Khān, near Elumisaram, II. 106-09 and *f.n.*
- siege of Srirang and Jhamgīr by, II. 109-10.
- imprisonment of D'Auteuil by, II. 114-16 and *f.n.*
- petition of M. Lās (w) and the reply of, II. 118-19 and *f.n.*
- advice of, to his son, III. 38-41.
- Manaji Rao, II. 123-24; and the murder of Husayn Dōst Khān.
- urḍūshī* and *nadhīr* of, to Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh and letter to Nawwāb Aṣafūd-Dawla Ghāziūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang, and consultation with his council for the expulsion of the French, II. 126-128.
- preparation of, for the attack of Phulcheri, letter of M. Dupleix to, and the reply of, II. 128-132.
- letters to, from Nawwāb Aṣafūd-Dawla Ghāziūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang and Ṣalābat Jang II. 134-6.
- defeat of Karjam by, II. 136-7.
- subjugation by, of the forts belonging to the French, II. 137-9 and *f.n.*
- arrangement of, for the subjugation of Wandwāsi, II. 140.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Muhammad 'Alī Khān Bahādūr, *farmān* of, to Muhammad Taqī 'Alī Khān and his reply, II. 140-41.
- subjugation of the fort of Wandwāsī and Tiruvati by, II. 142 and *f.n.*
- letter of Karāchūrī Nandrāj to, and the reply of, II. 146-7.
- army of, assailed by Murari Rao, II. 147 *f.n.*
- success of, at Tiruvati, II. 148-49.
- march of, to Nattharnagar from Tiruvati though hemmed in by enemies, II. 150-54.
- attack of the enemy by, and the immense success of, II. 154-63.
- conferred the title of Bahādūr on Khayrūd-Dīn Khān, II. 168.
- peace concluded by the French with, II. 168-71.
- father of Ghulām Ḥasan by Nawwāb Bēgam, II. 183.
- attempt of Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr on the life of, and his excuse, II. 184.
- joined by the *nāib* of the *ṣūba* of Arcot II. 189.
- at Chennapattan with the idea of subjugation of Nellore, 171-3; letter of, to M.Jirī the Governor of Pondicherry and Ṣalābat Jang for the removal of M. Bussy; and his sending Clive with men and money to help the English factory at Calcutta, II. 182-5.
- difficulties of, II. 188-9.
- allegiance to, thrown off by Kamāl of Nellore, II. 189 *f.n.*
- request of George Becket for help at Dewnapattan and his reply, II. 191-3.
- appeal of Pratāp Singh to, II. 197.
- departure of, from Frankikūnda to Mylapore, II. 203.
- advice of, to George Becket to make a stand at Chingleput, II. 203.
- and the siege of Chennapattan by M. Lally, II. 203-08.
- Muhammad 'Alī Khān Bahādūr, voyage of, to Nattharnagar to return with army and implements to Chennapattan, II. 211-215.
- arrival of, at Nattharnagar, and dispatch by, of the army under Muhammad Yūsuf Khān to Chennapattan, II. 215-17.
- urzdāshī* to, by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān, II. 226.
- Muzaḥḥar Khān, a servant under the Government of, and his treachery to, II. 227.
- letter of, to Basālat Jang and his reply to it, II. 229-230.
- despatch of Arshad Bēg Khān and strengthening of the army of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān by, II. 230-31.
- letters of, to George Becket, Colonel Coote and 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādūr to act quickly, II. 231.
- informed of the success at Wandwāsī, II. 236.
- letters of, to different persons, II. 237-8.
- anxiety of, to settle the affairs of the remaining part of his kingdom, II. 238.
- collection of an army by, II. 239-40.
- march of, for the subjugation of Pondicherry, II. 240 *ff.*
- camp of, at Mansurpet, Untatur, Walkunda and Ranjangadh, II. 242-43.
- anxiety of, to subdue Tiyaḡgadh, II. 243; subjugation of Kārikāl by, II. 243.
- at Nagur, II. 243-4.
- at Tarangampādi, and Silambar, II. 244.
- at Wardāchal, II. 244-5.
- instructions of, to 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādūr to grant the districts of Tinnevely and Madura to Muhammad Maḥfūḡ Khān Bahādūr, II. 245-46.
- at Wardāwūr, Parmūkāl, Chingleput, Frangikūnda and Chennapattan, II. 246-7.

- Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādur, dinner of George Becket, in honour of, II. 247.
- a council of war held by, with George Becket and others, and Coote employed to lay siege to Pondicherry, II. 248.
- reply of, to George III, II, 251-2.
- and the defeat of the French at Phulcheri and Villianallur, II. 252-58.
- subjugation of Yalānūr by, II. 256-8.
- taking of the towers of Adyā-kūpam and Wadgara by, II. 259-61.
- defeat of M. Lally by, at Tadpan, II. 261-2.
- impediments overcome by, II. 263.
- arrangements of, for the putting down of the opposition of Muhammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur, II. 264-5.
- capture of Pondicherry, and imprisonment of M. Lally and Lahri by, II. 268-70.
- urq̄dāsh* of, congratulating Ali Gawhar Shāh 'Alam on his coronation, and the title of *Walājāh* conferred on, II. 272-3.
- order for the *jāgir* of Pondicherry being entrusted to Mir Asadullāh Khān, II. 272.
- chronicle dealing with the administration of, III. 5.
- initiation of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur in spiritual discipleship by, III. 7, 13-17.
- and Nawwāb 'Azīmud-Dawla Bahādur, III. 23-24.
- Nawwāb Ra'isūn-nisā Bēgam and Nawwāb Zebūn-nisā Bēgam, the wives of, III. 48.
- treaties of, with Lord Cornwallis, III. 54 and 54-5 f.n.
- alleged friendship of, with Tippu Sultan, III. 84 n.
- custom of firing salute of guns in proportion to the age of, III. 141,
- Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādur, sons of, suspected of having stolen two mangoes from the Governor's Garden, III. 155, 156.
- Amirul-Umarā Bahādur, the *dīwān* of, IV. 21, 30.
- benefactions of, to Makka and Madīna, IV. 23.
- Hājī Maghribī Shāhib a companion of, IV. 31.
- visit of Mīrzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahādur to, and his return visit to him, IV. 46-47.
- illness and demise of, III. 9; 35-49.
- dispatch of the coffin of, to Nattharnagar and the burial, III. 11; 131-3.
- Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādur (Qhulām Awliyā) Nawwāb Sirajūd-Dawla 'Umdatul-Mulk, son of Nawwāb Anwarud-Dīn Khān Bahādur and Fakhrun-nisā Bēgam shāhiba, *shūbadār* of the Carnatic, IV. 61, 62.
- Muhammad Ali Husayn Khān Bahādur, son of Nawwāb 'Umatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 9, 20 and n. 21, 56.
- given the title of Amirul-Mulk 'Umdatud-Dawla Zafar Jang, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 57.
- Muhammad Alimullāh Khān Bahādur Mufidud-Dawla Firūz Jang, a son of Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur by a mistress, IV. 72.
- Muhammad Amān, a son of Shaykh Abdūl-Wālī, IV. 97.
- Muhammad Amirud-Dīn Khān, III. 102.
- Muhammad Anṣārullāh, son of Abdūl-Qādir Khān, m. the d. of Abdūl-Hayy Khān Natthumiyān, IV. 102.
- Muhammad Anwar, same as Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Anwarud-Dawla Muhammad Anwar Khān Bahādur Husām Jang, IV. 64.
- third son of Ḥazrat-i-A'lā by Nawwāb Bēgam, II. 8, 204, IV. 11n.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Muhammad Anwar, son of Shaykh Muhammad Munawwar, appointment of, by Awrangzēb 'Alamgīr Pādshāh, IV. 58.
- Muhammad Anwar, father of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, IV. 59.
- Muhammad Anwar Hājī Muqaddas, son of Shaykh Muhammad Munawwar, wife and children of, IV. 59-60.
- Muhammad Anwar, successor of Muhammad Munawwar, I. 9.
- Muhammad Aṣaf, grandson of Shaykh Ni'mullāh, *m.* Bibi Maryam ṣāhibā, IV. 60.
- Muhammadatūn-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Malikūn-nisā Bēgam and mother of Muhammadī Miyān, and III. 91, 92.
- Muhammadatūn-nisā Bēgam, dream of, III. 97; birth of a son to, and his death, III. 98.
- Muhammad Awrangzēb 'Alamgīr Pādshāh, Emperor of Delhi, gave the holy title Shaykh Aqdas to Nawwāb Hājī Muhammad Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, I. 11-12.
- civil war of, with Dārā Shukōh, I. 15.
- summon by, to Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān, I. 31-3.
- and the Nāit brothers, Muhammad Sa'id and Ghulām Ali, I. 65-69.
- Muhammad Āzīmullāh Khān Ashraf Jang Bahādur, son of Sarfarāz Hasan Khān Bahādur Muhtasham Jang, *m.* the *d.* of Sarfarāz Ali Khān Bahādur, IV. 92.
- Muhammad Bāqir, grandson of 'Ismat Bī, *m.* Faḥilatūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 88.
- Muhammad Bashīr Khān, III. 15.
- Muhammad Bēg Khān, II. 215.
- Muhammad Burhān, commandant, rebellion of the men in the army under, III. 22.
- Muhammad Darwēsh, III. 19.
- Muhammad Dīwān, a son-in-law of Ali Dōst Khān, I. 69.
- Muhammad Fakhṛūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 35.
- Muhammad Ghawth, III. 84.
- Muhammad Ghazzālī, author of a treatise, I. 15.
- Muhammad Ḥabibullāh Khān Bahādur, III. 56; conferred the title of *I'tiṣām Jang* by Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 56.
- Muhammad Ḥabibullāh (Nāsirūd-Dawla I'tiṣām Jang), son of Umdatūn-nisā Bēgam, *m.* the senior daughter of Ghulām Jilāni Khān Bahādur Ikhtiyār Jang and later the younger *d.* of Ruknūd-Dīn Khān Zafarūd-Dawla, III. 121-28, IV. 85.
- Muhammad Ḥasan Khān, III. 18.
- Muhammad Ḥasan, II. 63 and *n.*
- Muhammad Hāshīm, (Hāshim Ali Khān), same as Khāfi Khān, the historian, I. 14-15 *f.n.*
- Muhammad Ḥayāt Qādir Ali Khān Bahādur, son of 'Ismat Bibi ṣāhibā of Gopamaw and father-in-law of Abdul-Karīm Khān, IV. 68.
- marriage of the daughter of, with Shāhsawār Jang, III. 98-100.
- Muhammad Ḥusayn, III. 47.
- Muhammad Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur and Abū-Turāb Khān Bahādur, sons of Ḥazrat-i-A'lā, by one mother, II. 10.
- Muhammad Ḥusayn Khān Tāhir, I. 80, 107, 108.
- head of the *Jāgirdār's Peshkash* office. I. 109.
- a Nāit, the *Dīwān* of Nawwāb Ali Dōst Khān Shahīd, removed from office by Ṣafdar Ali Khān, I. 75.
- part of, in the murder of Ṣafdar Ali Khān, I. 77-80.
- incident at the marriage of the daughter of, I. 110.
- the *nāib* and *jāgirdār* of Āmbūr-gadh, I. 140; treachery and death of, I. 145-46.

- Muhammad Husayn Khān Tāhir father of Mu'tabir Khān Tāhir, II. 59.
- Muhammad Husaynu'd-Dīn, a son of Zubayda Khānam, *m.* Husaynī Bēgam, IV. 104.
- Muhammadi Bēgam, married to Muhammad Karīm, III. 78, IV. 106.
- Muhammad Ibrāhīm, III. 82, 83; the commandant invited by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-'Umarā Bahādur during nights, III. 31; *risāladār*, III. 124, 152.
- Muhammadi Miyān, same as Qhulām Muhammad Ali Naṣībūd-Dawla, IV. 83.
- Muhammad 'Ināyatullāh, II. 212; son of Abdūl-Laṭīf Khān, *m.* Bakhs̄hī Bēgam, IV. 107.
- Muhammad I'tibār Khān Bahādur Babar Jang, an attendant of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 161.
- Muhammad Ishāq Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang, and Abdūl-Ma'būd Khān Bahādur, sons of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā by one mother, II. 10.
- m.* Parsan Bī, IV. 86.
- death of, II. 209.
- Muhammad Ismā'il Khān Shēr Jang Bahādur, a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, II. 10, IV. 87.
- Muhammad 'Izzūd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang Nāmī, criticism by, of the poem of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-'Umarā Bahādur and its result, III. 27-29.
- Muhammad Ja'far, III. 31; a son of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 107.
- Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Khān Bahādur Sardārūd-Dawla, son of Khayrūd-Dīn Khān, *m.* Hurmatul-nisā Bēgam, IV. 108.
- Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Sirājūd-Dawla Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, son of Hāji Muhammad Anwar and father of Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādur Amīrūl-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang, I. 10, 19, IV. 55.
- Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Sirājūd-Dawla Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, some miraculous deeds of, I. 22-27.
- daily programme of, I. 29-30.
- sons and daughters of, I. 30-31.
- summoned by Awrangzēb, I. 31-33.
- conferred the titles Khān, and Bahādur and appointed pēshkār to the dārogha of the dīwān-khāna of the Pādshāh, I. 33-38.
- Muhammad Jawād Khān Bahādur and Hāfiz Hasan Ali Khān Bahādur, sons of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, by one mother, II. 10, IV. 87.
- father of Qhulām Rasūl Khān, IV. 77.
- Muhammad Jāwīd Khān, III. 15, 38, 43, 46, 47.
- Muhammad Kamāl, II. 174, 203.
- Nellore under the control of, II. 137.
- an account of, II. 175-77; 175 *n.*
- residence of Mirzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahādur in the building put up by, IV. 47 and *n.*
- Muhammad Karīm, same as Qhulām Zāmin Muhammad Karīm, III. 15, 153.
- son of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-nisā Bēgam ṣāhibā, IV. 84.
- grandson of Muhammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 42.
- nephew of Amīrūd-Dawla Abdūl-Qādir Khān Bahādur and brother of Ra'isul-'Umarā Bahādur Sirājul-Mulk, IV. 42.
- married Muhammadi Bēgam, III. 78.
- the marriage of, IV. 41-5.
- conferred the title Jalādat Jang by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-'Umarā Bahādur, III. 56.
- birth of Muhammadi Miyān to, III. 89-92.
- sufferings of, from small-pox, III. 94-98, 107.
- the nāgīr of the Dārul-ingha khāss fārst, IV. 35.

Muhammad Karīm Khayrūd-Dīn Ḥasan Ghulām Zāmin, son of Iftikhārūd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muhammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamsām Jang and author of the *Sawānīhāt-i-Mumtāz*, III. 3-8.

—grandson of Ghulām Pīr Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur II and Karīm-un-nisā Bēgam (Kamu Bēgam), IV. 61, 101.

—author of the *Sawānīhāt-i-Mumtāz*, III. 3, IV. 116.

—Muhammadī Bēgam the wife of, and Ghulām Aḥmad Khān Bahādur the *tillāṭi* brother of, IV. 106.

Muhammad Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Nāẓim Jang the Senior, son of Shaykh Abdūl-Ḥakīm Khān Bahādur Shahid and father of Ḥāfiẓ Muhammad Nāṣir Khān Iftikhārūd-Dawla Ṣamsām Jang Bahādur, IV. 55.

—*m.* the fourth daughter of Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur and Bibi Ṣāḥiba, IV. 61.

Muhammad Khān ṣāḥib, II. 31 *f.n.*

Muhammad Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, son of Abdūl-Ḥakīm Khān Shahid and father of Iftikhārūd-Dawla Ḥāfiẓ Muhammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamsām Jang, III. 3.

Muhammad Kifāyatullāh, in charge of the arrangements of the marriage of Muhammad Ḥabībullah Khān Nāṣirūd-Dawla Bahādur, III. 127.

Muhammad Kasim Ferishta, *see* Ferishta, I. 7 *f.n.*

Muhammad Lār an ancestor of Anwarūd-Dīn, I. 7; stay and death of, at Gopāmaw, I. 8.

Muhammad Madīna 'Alī, taking of Arcot by, II. 89-90.

Muhammad Maḥfūẓ, (Muhammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang), II. 174, IV. 61; a son of Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān (Sirājūd-Dawla) and Bibi Ṣāḥiba, I. 30, 109, IV. 60, 62.

Muhammad Maḥfūẓ, uncle of Abdūl-Ḥayy Khān, II. 228.

—sister of, *m.* to Ghulām Pīr Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur II, IV. 101.

—the commander of a *risāla*, I. 48.

—grants to the English through the mediation of, I. 107.

—distinction of, I. 108.

—sent against the French by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, but defeated, I. 115-16.

—defeat of, by the French, I. 118, 120.

—entrusted with the *ṣūba* of Trichinopoly by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 127.

—dismissal of, from the *ṣūba* of Trichinopoly, I. 128-31.

—ordered by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur to gather forces against Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, I. 138.

—fight of, against Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, I. 144; imprisonment of, 146.

—appointment of, to the *niẓāmat* of Arcot through the diplomacy of Rāja Sampat Rāi, and his misunderstanding with his father, I. 132-35.

—imprisonment of, by Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, II. 25.

—liberation of, II. 26.

—meeting of Nawwāb Niẓāmūd-Dawla Bahādur by, II. 30.

—march of, to Ḥaydarābād, II. 58-59.

—relations of, with Ḥazrat-i-'Alā, II. 150-52.

—defeat of, by M. Dupleix, II. 185.

—entrusted with the taluks of Madura and Tinnevely, II. 245-46.

—appointment of, as the *ṣubādār* of Trichinopoly, by Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 60 *n.*

Muhammad Ma'ṣūm, III. 19, 31, 88, 120, 152, 160, 167, 182, an account of, III. 69.

Muhammad Miftāḥ, III. 46.

Muhammadī Miyān, birth of, III. 89-92.

- Muhammad Mu'izzud-Dīn, III. 18.
- Muhammad Mu'izzud-Dīn Alī Gawhar Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Pādshāh Ghāzi, Emperor, Muhammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, a loyal servant of, IV. 47.
- Muhammad Mujtabā, son of Ghulām Pīr *m.* the *d.* of Qamarud-Dīn Khān, IV. 84.
- Muhammad Munawwar, the descendant of Ḥaẓrat Umar Fārūq in the twenty-third generation, father of Hājī Muhammad Anwar and Shaykh Abdu'l-Wālī, IV. 53.
- successor of Ni'matullāh, I. 9.
- Muhammad Munawwar, second son of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā by Nawwāb Bēgam, II. 8.
- Pōti Bēgam, a junior sister of, II. 9.
- Muhammad Munawwar (Nawwāb A'zam Jāh Fakhrul-Umarā Bahādur), son of Aẓimud-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Sa'fdu'n-nisā Bēgam, IV. 70.
- Muhammad Munirud-Dīn Khān, uncle's son of Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarud-Dīn Khān, I. 27, 141.
- the son of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla's first cousin, II. 6.
- father of Amīrud-Dīn Khān, III. 25.
- nāib* of Muhammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur at Trichinopoly, contest of, with Anwar Alī Khān inside the fort of Trichinopoly, I. 128-30.
- Muhammad Murād, Chingleput strengthened under the command of, II. 203.
- Muhammad Murād, father of Abdu'l-Wājid Khān, IV. 60.
- Muhammad Najīb Khān Shahīd, I. 147; II. 176, 177.
- father of Abdu'r-Rashīd Khān Bahādur, II. 14, 244.
- a servant in the *dargāh* of Ḥaẓrat Khwāja Mu'izzud-Dīn Chishtī, and companion and counsellor of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, I. 108.
- Muhammad Najīb Khān Shahīd, the right hand man of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, I. 133-34.
- Muhammad Najīb Khān Bahādur Sālār Jang, III. 43, 46.
- Muhammad Najibullah Khān II. 192.
- fifth son of Muhammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Sirājūd-Dawla, I. 31, 109.
- younger brother of Muhammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur, II. 245.
- commander of a *risāla*, I. 48.
- entrusted with the taluk of South Arcot by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 127.
- ordered by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur to send the army of Nellore against Hidāyat Muhiyyud-Dīn Khān, I. 138.
- imprisonment of, I. 146.
- deliverance of, obtained by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡā, II. 2.
- march of, to Ḥaydarābād, II. 58-9.
- appointed *nāib* to the *sūba* of Nellore, II. 150; but later dismissed imprisoned and released, II. 151.
- an account of, II. 174-5.
- nāzim* of Nellore, II. 177.
- rebellion of, II. 188.
- Phulcheri reached by, II. 201; return of, to Nellore when Rīzā was seated on the throne of Arcot, II. 202.
- in charge of the taluk of South Arcot, IV. 61 *n.*
- Muhammad Naṣīr, same as Ghulām Pīr, IV. 84.
- Muhammad Nāṣir (Ḥāfiẓ Muhammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur), younger brother of Mawlawī Abdu'l-Wālī *m.* Fataḥ Bēgam, II. 9-10, Muhammad Ḥabībullah Khān Nāṣirud-Dawla Bahādur son of, III. 106.
- renting of three taluks to, III. 9.
- Muhammad Nāṣir Khān Bahādur, son of Sayfud-Mulk Bahādur, III. 56.
- conferred the title *Nāṣir Jang* by Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 56.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Muhammad Naṣrullāh Khān Bahādur a son of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 10.
- Muhammad Ni'mullāh Khān Sharaful-Umarā Bahādur, son of Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Dilār Jang Bahādur and father of Sharaful-Umarā Anwārūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 55.
- Muhammad Ni'mullāh Khān (Sharaful-Umarā Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Fatahyāb Jang Bahādur), son of Naṣīrūd-Dawla II, *m.* Ikramun-nisā, and father of four daughters and one son, IV. 93-4.
- Muhammad Ni'matullāh (Ghulām Asadullāh Khān Bahādur), son of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur, *m.* the *d.* of Ḥusāmūl-Mulk, IV. 105-06.
- Muhammad Nūrullāh ('Umdatūd-Dawla), IV. 72.
- Muhammadpūr, the name of Arcot after Muhammad 'Alī, I. 60; III. 9, 60, 86, 87, 93, 111 and *n.*, 116; IV. 22, 64, 108, 110.
- Muhammad Qudrat 'Alīm Khān, son of Qudrat Raḥīm Khān, IV. 99.
- Muhammad Rafī' Khān Bādhil, author of the *Ḥamla-i-Ḥaydarī*, III. 167 *n.*
- Muhammad Riḍā Bēg Khān, the *sardār* of the horses on the left wing of the army of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, I. 122.
- Muhammad Riẓā, the *kotwāl* of Tirmalkaṛī, III. 147.
- Muhammad Rōshan, III. 182.
- Muhammad Sa'dī, original name of Muhammad I'tibār Khān Bahādur Babar Jang, II. 161-2.
- Muhammad Sa'īd, a Nāiṭ and Awrangzēb, I. 65-67.
- later Sa'ādatullāh Khān, I. 68.
- a son of Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān Shahīd, I. 80.
- Muhammad Ṣalābat Khān (Naṣīrūl-Mulk Bahādur Muhammad Ṣalābat Khān), son of Nawwāb Naṣīrūl-Mulk Bahādur, *m.* Jahāniya Bēgam younger daughter of Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 79, 80.
- Muhammad Sayyid, original name of Sa'ādatullāh Khān, I. 64 *f.n.*
- Muhammad Subhān, a descendant of Abdullāh Awsaṭ, I. 5.
- Muhammad Subhān, son of Shaykh Mas'ūd and father of Shaykh Fakhrūd-Dīn Maḥmūd (Sulṭān Sulaymān Shāh), IV. 54.
- Muhammad Shāh Pādshāh, Emperor, I. 37, 33 *n.*, 61 *n.*
- death of Muṣṣhid Qulī Khān, during the time of, II. 15 *f.n.*
- deputation of Jān-i-Jahān to the Deccan along with Aṣaf Jāh, I. 38-40.
- appointment of Jān-i-Jahān by, to the *niẓāmat* of the *ṣūba* of Farkhunda Bunyād Ḥaydarābād I. 42.
- Dilāwar Khān the *amīr-i-khāṣṣ* of, II. 15.
- Muhammad Tajūd-Dīn Khān, sent along with Sayyid Ibrāhīm 'Alī Khān to subdue the fort of Tiyaḡ-gadh, II. 238.
- Muhammad Taqī 'Alī Khān a son of Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Bahādur and Tayyibun-nisā, *m.* Sājida Bēgam, IV. 77.
- qiladār* of Wandwāsī, II. 139.
- an account of, II. 139-40.
- farmān* of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā to, and his reply, II. 140-41.
- imprisonment of, II, 142.
- Muhammad Waliullāh Aḥmad, a son of Ḥusayni Bēgam, IV. 105.
- Muhammad Yūsuf Khān, the *risāldār* of the army, entrusted with the taluks of Madura and Tinnevely, II. 152.
- dispatched with an army to Chennapattan, II. 215-17.
- and the battle at Frangikūnda, II. 219-22.
- readiness of, to loot the fugitive, II. 225.
- received George Becket and Colonel Coote, II. 226.
- and the defeat of M. Lally at Kanjī, II. 226-8.

- Muhammad Yūsuf Khān, and the defeat of the French at Wandwāsī, II. 233-6.
- granted an interview by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 238.
- and the subjugation of Kārikāl, II. 243.
- and the subjugation of Yalānūr, II. 258.
- and the defeat of M. Lally at Tadpan, II. 262.
- advice of, to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, and sent to the south to put down the opposition of Muhammad Maḥfūẓ Khān, II. 264-5.
- Muḥarrām, I. 74 and *f.n.* II. 7 and *n.*, 8; celebration of, III. 33-4.
- Muḥibb 'Alī, III. 83, 84.
- Muḥiyyūd-Dawla, son of Mustaqīm Jang Bahādur, *m. a d.* of Shukōhul-Mulk Mumtāzūl-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 94.
- Muḥiyyūd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, tutor to the sons of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 212.
- Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, (Hidāyat) march of, from Phulcheri and capture of, II. 32-33.
- Muḥsin, III. 2 *n.*
- Muḥsinūd-Dīn Khān, grandson of Shaykh Madan *m.* the first daughter of Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur and Bībī ṣāḥiba, IV. 60.
- Muir, II. 270.
- Mukhlīṣ Khān, an Amīr under Awrangzēb, I. 32, 33.
- and an impostor, I. 12-13.
- Mukhtārūn-nisā Bēgam, wife by *nikāḥ* of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, mother of three daughters, IV. 71.
- Mullā Aḥmad, an Amīr under 'Adil Shāh, I. 65.
- Mullā Faṣīḥūd-Dīn Khān, teacher, II. 212.
- Mullā Muhammad Qāsim (Feriṣhta) the author of the *Nawrasnāma* and brother-in-law of the father of Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī, I. xxviii. I. 62.
- Multan, IV. 57.
- Multamis Khān, the *urq-begī*, IV. 35.
- Multazim Jang*, title of Miṣbāḥullāh Khān Bahādur, IV. 38.
- Mūmin, a weaver in Gopamaw, II. 175.
- Mumtāz, III. 27.
- Mumtāz Bēgam *d.* of Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Amīrūd-Dawla Amīr Jang, senior sister of Tāidūd-Dīn Akbar *m.* Ghulām 'Alī Sayfūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 75, 102.
- Mumtāzūd-Dawla Sirājūd-Dīn Khān, son of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur, *m.* Kīlān Bēgam, IV. 111.
- Mumtāzūl-Umarā Amīrūl-Mulk Bahādur, appointment of, as *dīwān*, by Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, IV. 30; excellent judgments of, IV. 31.
- the *madārūl-muḥām*, officer under, IV. 34-5.
- the *madārūl-muḥām* work of, IV. 35-6.
- father of Ḥājī Maṣṣūrūd-Dawla, IV. 72.
- father-in-law of Aḥmad Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur Muḥiyyūd-Dawla, IV. 81.
- uncle of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, appointed *nāib* and later as *bakhshī* by his nephew, IV. 21-2.
- d. of, m. to* Ghulām Rasūl Khān Bahādur, IV. 93-4.
- Mumtāzūl-Umarā Bahādur*, a title of the brother of Nawwāb Bēgam Ṣāḥiba, IV. 17.
- Mumtāzūn-nisā Bēgam, wife of Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, IV. 72.
- Munawwar Bēgam, *d.* of Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk Dīlēr Jang Bahādur *m.* Jān-i-'Alam Khān Bahādur, IV. 108.
- Munawwar Khān, *sipahdār* of Kurnool shot Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 147.
- Munawwarūn-nisā Bēgam, (Munnu Bēgam) *d.* of Shukōhul-Mulk Mumtāzūl-Umarā Bahādur, *m.* Jān-i-'Alam Khān, IV. 95.
- Mun'im Khān, *Dīwān* of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh, I. 37 *f.n.*
- Mun'im Nawāz Khān, IV. 35.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Mun'im-un-nisā Bēgam, (Dulhan Bēgam). *d.* of Khān-i-'Alam Khān Bahādūr by Šāliha Bēgam, *m.* Nawwāb Aḡim Jāh Bahādūr and mother of a daughter, IV. 71-2.
- Munirūd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr, a son of Shaykh Abdūl-Wālī, IV. 97.
- grandfather of Quṭbūd-Dīn Alī Khān, IV. 78.
- Munir-un-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Zubayda Khānam, and younger sister of Tāhir-un-nisā Bēgam, *m.* Qamarūd-Dawla, IV. 75, 105.
- Munnu Miyān, see Hāfiḡ Muḥammad Munawwar, IV. 63.
- Munshī Maḥmūd Alī Khān Bahādūr, in charge of the *kachahri dārul-inshā angrāi*, IV. 35.
- the work of, I v. 36.
- Munshī, Manu Lāl, the, of Nawwāb Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr, I. 25.
- Munshī Muḥammad Burhān Khān Hāndī, IV. 115.
- Muntakhabul-lubāb Muḥammad Shāhi (Tārīkh-i-Khāfi-Khān)*, I. 15 *f.n.*
- Muqaddima*, IV. 114.
- Murād Bakhsh, Muḥammad Hāshim, in the service of, I. 14 *f.n.*
- Murari Rao, I. 70 *n.*, II. 31 *n.*, 92, 129 *n.*, 145 and *n.*, 147, 147 *n.*, 155, 156, 166, 166 *n.*, 167, 168, 170, 201.
- conclusion of peace with, by Aṣaf Jāh at Nattharnagar (Trichinopoly), I. 48.
- the fort of Trichinopoly entrusted to, I. 74.
- capture of the fort of Trichinopoly from the hands of, I. 82-84.
- Governor of Trichinopoly, evacuation of, I. 83 *f.n.*
- capture of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān by, II. 92.
- reaches the presence of Ḥazrat-i-Aḡā after his success against M. Kālir, II. 100-102.
- Yūnus Khān the 'ilāqadār of, II. 105.
- Yūnus Khān, an employee of, II. 111.
- Murari Rao, anxiety of, to take hold of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, II. 124.
- conciliation of, II. 128-9.
- rebellion and union of, with Riḡā Alī Khān and Dupleix and the fight and flight of, from Tiruvati, 145-149, 150.
- Ḥazrat-i-Aḡā hemmed in by, II. 153.
- camp of, on the bank of the Kaveri, II. 154.
- strength of the army of, II. 157.
- dispersal of, II. 162.
- flight of, towards his home, II. 171.
- territory of, captured by Ḥaydar Alī Khān, II. 188.
- Mūrś (Mauritius) island, II. 200, 248.
- Murshidābād, IV. 50; founded by Murshid Qulī Khān, II. 15 *n.*
- Murshid Qulī Khān (Ja'far Khān) *nāḡim* of Bengal, II, 15 and *f.n.*
- Murtaḡā Alī, of Vellore, subjugation of, by Chanda Šāhib, II. 77.
- Murtaḡā Bēgam, great-grand-daughter of Mīr Maḥdī Šāhib, *m.* Hāfiḡ Muḥammad Abdūl-Ḥusayn Khān, IV. 82.
- Murtaḡā Ḥusayn Khān, title conferred upon, II. 86-7.
- Muṣalla*, (Prayer carpet), I. 10, 11.
- Mushir-ul-Mulk Aristū (Aḡam-ul-Umarā Ghulām Sayyid Khān), chief minister to Niḡām Alī Khān Aṣaf Jāh, III. 35 and *n.*
- Music, tunes in, III. 25 and *n.*
- Muṣṭafā, III. 26.
- Muṣṭafā Alī Khān Bahādūr, same as Ghulām Muṣṭafā, IV. 100.
- Mustaqīm Jang Bahādūr, brother of Abdūl-Laṭīf Khān, IV. 107.
- father of Muḥiyyūd-Dawla, IV. 94.
- Muta'*, enjoyment, I. 24; 24-25 *f.n.*
- Mutahhar Alī Khān, son of Ḥusām-ul-Mulk Bahādūr, III. 87.
- Mu'tabir Khān Tābir, II. 129; *jāḡirdār* of Ranjangadh, escape of Ḥazrat-i-Aḡā from, II. 58 *f.n.*; 59-61; treachery of, II. 84.

- Mu'tabir Khān Tāhir, the *qiltādār* of Ranjangudi, II. 147 *f.n.*, 242.
- Mutawallī of mosques, A'zam Nawāz Khān appointed as, IV. 31.
- Muthialpet, tomb of Fattāh Shāh Šāhib near the cathedral mosque at, III. 143.
- Muzaffar Alī (Khayru'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān), son of Ghulām Mujtabā, IV. 101.
- Muzaffar Jang (Hidāyat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur), I. 113, II. 28 *n.*, 33 *n.*, 49 *n.*, 65 *n.*, 67 *n.*
- and the French, I. 97.
- at Chitaldrug, and Bednore, I. 137.
- elevation of, II. 62 *f.n.*
- assassination of, II. 48 *f.n.*
- Muzaffar Jang, a nephew of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur granted the title *Majdu'd-Dawla Bahādur*, III. 70.
- Muzaffar Khān, the *ilāqadār* of the French forces, II. 66.
- a title of Abdūl-Raḥmān, II. 63.
- killed by Abrār Khān at Kanjī, II. 227.
- Mylapore, II. 177, III. 46, 163, IV. 47 *n.*; history of, I. 91-2; granted to the English, I. 103, 103 *n.*, 107.
- (San Thome) port of, II. 176.
- residence of Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā at, II. 203, 204.
- tomb of Ḥaẓrat Dastgīr Šāhib Sāwī at, III. 40.
- residence of Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla Bahādur at, III. 65.
- big garden at, III. 112.
- Great Spring in, III. 143.
- Maḥbūb-bāgh on the way to, III. 159.
- residence of Mīrzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahādur in, IV. 46-7.
- residence of Mīrzā Ilāhī Bakhsḥ Bahādur in, IV. 51.
- Mysore, Close, Resident of, IV. 10 *n.*
- N
- Nabīullāh Aḥmad, a son of Ḥusaynī Bēgam, IV. 105.
- Nādir Shāh, 37 *n.*; invasion of India by, I. 38 *n.*
- Nadyāwer, got from Dāwūd Khān by the English East India Company, I. 160.
- Nāgūr (ore), IV. 87, 93.
- plunder from the shrine of his holiness Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Abdūl-Qādir Šāhib Nāgūrī, II. 196.
- plunder of M. Lally at, II. 197.
- Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā at, II. 243.
- pilgrimage of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. to, IV. 22 and *n.*
- Nāib, I. 68, 76, 108, 109, 138.
- Dāwūd Khān appointed as, by Nawwāb Dhū'l-Faḡūr Khān, I. 62-63.
- Nāib *Wazīr*, Jān-i-Jahān as, I. 39.
- Badrul-Islām Khān Bahādur Afrāsiyāb Jang, occupied the post of *Nāib-Wazīr* in the court of Delhi in the place of his father, I. 30.
- Nāiḡ a tribe of Arabs, I. 64, 65, 83, 109, 110, II. 43, 126, IV. 74, 88.
- the Tāhirs, a group of the community of, I. 81.
- help to Dupleix by, I. 115-16.
- Najābat-*Alī* Khān Bahādur, a title of Muḥammad Kifāyatullāh, III. 127.
- Najaf, the Eminent, II. 12.
- Najaf *Alī* Khān Bahādur, son of Abdūl-Ghanī Khān, *m.* the first daughter of Khādija Bēgam, IV. 86.
- brother of Faẓl Ḥusayn Khān, IV. 90.
- d. of, m.* to Ghulām Murtaẓā, IV. 87.
- Najībullāh Khān, father of Fāṭima Bēgam, III. 122.
- Najībullāh Khān Bahādur, Muḥammad, subjugation of Muḥammad Kamāl by, II. 177.
- entrusted with certain taluks by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 42.
- Najmud-Dīn Ḥusayn Khān, (*Khādū Miyān*), *m.* Raḥmatun-nisā Bēgam, IV. 92.
- eldest son of Iḥsānullāh Khān, *d. of*, married to Shukōhu'l-Mulk Mumtāẓul-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 94.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

- Najm-un-nisā Begam*, a seal with the words of, presented to 'Ābida Begam by Nawwāb Āzīm Jāh Bahādur, the Regent, IV. 44.
- Najmūl-Mulk Abdūl-Šamad Khān Bahādur, *m.* Āzīm-un-nisā Begam, and father of Aḥmad-un-nisā Begam, IV. 70.
- Nana Šāhib, a son of Tukoji, 95 *f.n.* Nandraj, II. 156, 253.
- siege of Trichinopoly by, II. 155.
- strength of the army of, II. 157.
- ran away from Bhangār-kūnda, II. 163.
- cruelty of, and the message of Ḥaẓrat-i-Alā to, II. 164-5.
- attack of the forces of, II. 161.
- position of, usurped by Ḥaydar Ali Khān (Ḥaydar Nāyak), II. 188.
- Nanja (e) Raja same as Karāchūrī Nandraj, II. 104 *n.*, 126 *n.*, 128-9 *n.*, 145 *n.* 166 *n.*, 168, 170.
- Nasab-nāma-i-šāhī*, IV. 57.
- Našībūd-Dawla Bahādur Iftikhārūl-Mulk, son of Ghulām Al-i-Muḥammad Khurshidūl-Mulk Muḥammad Nāsir Khān Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 55.
- descendant of Muḥammad Munawwar in the seventh generation and of Ḥaẓrat 'Umar Fārūq in the thirtieth generation, IV. 53.
- Našībūd-Dawla Muḥammadī Miyān, *m.* Maqbūl-un-nisā Begam, IV. 107.
- Našīrūd-Dawla Bahādur, Nawwāb, III. 47, 146, 153.
- same as Shukōhūl-Mulk Našīrūd-Dawla Bahādur, III. 65.
- Našīrūd-Dawla II, see Abdūl-Šamad Khān Diler Jang Bahādur Našīrūd-Dawla II, IV. 93.
- Našīrūd-Dīn, successor of Abdullāh Akbar, I. 2.
- Našīrūl-Mulk Intigāmūd-Dawla Muḥammad Šalābat Khān Bahādur Ghazanfar Jang, Nawwāb, (Abdūl-Quddūs), fifth son of Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, *m.* Khayr-un-nisā Begam, younger sister of Ḥabīb-un-nisā Begam, II. 9, III. 25, IV. 64, 67.
- Našīrūl-Mulk Intigāmūd-Dawla Muḥammad Šalābat Khān Bahādur Ghazanfar Jang, brother of Nawwāb 'Umdatūl-Umarā Bahādur, marriage of, III. 122, 124.
- Fataḥ Begam Šāhiba, junior to, IV. 66.
- father-in-law of Ghulām Bāqir Husayn Khān, IV. 689.
- wives and children of, IV. 79-80.
- condolence letter to, III. 46.
- quarrel of, with Ḥusāmūl-Mulk Bahādur, III. 94.
- arrangements by, for the burial of Nawwāb Muḥammad Ali Wālājāh, at Nattharnagar, III. 132-3.
- Našīrūl-Mulk Bahādur Muḥammad Šalābat Khān, a title of Muḥammad Šalābat Khān, IV. 79.
- Našīrūl-Mulk Lālūmiyān, brother of Nawwāb 'Umdatūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 180.
- Nāsir Ali, grandson of 'Iṣmat Bī, *m.* the daughter of Nawwāb Našīrūl-Mulk Bahādur and Ḥusnī Begam, IV. 79, 80.
- Nāsir Ali Khān, a skilled poet of *Shāhjahanābād*, and *Dhul-Faqār Khān*, I. 61.
- Našīrūd-Dawla I'tiṣām Jang, same as Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh, IV. 85 and *n.*
- Našīrūd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh Khān Bahādur, same as Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh Našīrūd-Dawla Khān Bahādur, III. 11, 121.
- son of Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur, children of, IV. 111.
- d.* of, *m.* to Mumtāzūd-Dawla Muḥammad Sirājūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 104.
- Našīrūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, *m.* Karāmat-un-nisā Begam, IV. 92.
- Našīrūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, *d.* of, married to Riẓā Husayn Khān, IV. 102.
- Našīrūd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, father of Ikrām-un-nisā, IV. 93.
- Nāsir Jang, Nawwāb, see Niẓāmūd-Dawla Mīr Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Nāsir Jang, II. 28 *n.*, 48 *n.*, 49 *n.*, 67,

- 68, 77, 110 *n.*, 126, 179 and *n.* 181, 182, 264, IV. 60.
- assassination and death of, II. 24 *n.*, 48 *n.*, 185; martyrdom of, at Jinji at the hands of Himmat Bahādur Khān, II. 53-8, 122, 174, 178, 229, 245.
- Nāṣir Jang a nephew of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, granted the title *I'tiḍādud-Dawla*, III. 70.
- Naṣrullāh Khān, a relative of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarud-Dīn Khān, I. 22-23.
- Naṣrullāh Khān Bahādur Qawī Jang, a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, IV. 87.
- Nattharnagar (Trichinopoly), I. xxvi 106, 129, 130, 131, 134, 135, II. 4, 22, 25, 29, 30, 82, 85, 88, 92, 100, 101, 105, 106, 116, 124, 126, 128, 132, 142, 146, 147, 150, 152, 153, 154, 162, 163, 164, 165, 172, 175, 183, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 210, 212, 213, 215, 222, 238, 239, 241, 242, 248, 256, 271, 272; III. 11, 40, 46, 79, 80, 94, 131, 132, 133, 175, IV. 1, 22, 64, 71.
- named after Haḍrat Natthar Walī, I. 60.
- Natthar Walī, the remains of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, buried in the *dargāh* of, III. 48 *n.*; 133.
- Nawwāb Ṣāhib, (Nawwāb Wālājāh Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur), III. 5.
- Nawāsī Bēgam the senior, (Sa'īdunnisā Bēgam), IV. 76.
- Nawāsī Bēgam, the junior (Khadija Bēgam), IV. 76.
- Nawāyat, I. 56, 64, 82, 115.
- enfolded in the kind disposition of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 107.
- help of, sought by Hidāyat Muḥiyyud-Dīn Khān Bahādur, I. 138.
- nobles of the, and the French, I. 96-7.
- rulers, and the French, I. 100-101.
- prisoners, I. 54.
- Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāhib, a title conferred on the wife of Ra'isul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 65.
- Nawbat Khāna of Haḍrat-i-Alā, I. 42.
- Nawrasnāma (*Tārīkh-i-Ferishta*) a work of Mullāh Muḥammad Qāsim Ferishta, I. xxviii, 62.
- Nawrōs, celebration of, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 1-46.
- Nawshīrwān, son of Qubbād, I. xxii. *fn.*; the justice of, remodelled by Amīrul-Hind Wālājāh, I. xxiii.
- Nawwāb Bēgam, see Khadija Bēgam II. 7, 158, 184, 204, 213, 214, III. 5 *n.*, IV. 63.
- Nāzim, II. 37, 40, 57, 68, 76, 82, 127.
- Chanda Ṣāhib, of Arcot, I. 97.
- Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, of Chicacole, II. 6.
- Murshid Qulī Khān, of Bengal, II. 15 and *fn.*
- Negapatam, I. 94 and *n.*, II. 196 *n.*, 210, IV. 65.
- flight of Rīzā Alī Khān to, II. 267 *n.*
- reception of Haḍrat-i-Alā at, II. 214-15.
- Neknām Khān, the agent of Golconda, negotiation of Casa Verona with, I. 100 *fn.*
- Nellore, II. 14, 30, 61, 137, 175 *n.*, 183, 188, 192, 201, 202, III. 9, 11, 36, 122.
- a dependency of Arcot, II. 202.
- kept out of the jurisdiction of the Nāib of Arcot, I. 133.
- ṣūba of, brought under control by Hidāyat Muḥiyyud-Dīn Khān, II. 1.
- entrusted to 'Abdul-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur, II. 42.
- Muḥammad Najibullāh Khān Bahādur, appointed nāib to the ṣūba of, II. 150.
- Muḥammad Najibullāh Khān Bahādur, appointed to the governorship of, II. 175.
- Muḥammad Kamāl appointed to the nīzām of, II. 177.
- appointment of Iftikhārūd-Dawla as the *fawjdar* of, III. 105-07.

Nellore, Abdūl-Wahhāb Khān the *talлуqddār* of, IV. 61 *n.*

Nepal, III. 85 *n.*

Nīgan, Governor of Chennapatan, I. 102.

Nī'matullāh, son of Abdūl-Hayy, I. 9.

Nizāmat of the Nawāyaṭ, and the French, I. 96-97.

Nizām Ali Khān Bahādur, (Aṣaf Jāh II), a younger brother of Ṣalābat Jang, I. 136, II. 143 *n.*, 179 *n.*, 230.

—same as Nizāmūd-Dawla Bahādur, III. 35 and *n.*

—death of Himmat Bahādur Khān, at the contrivance of, II. 67 68 *f.n.*

—Aristojāh A'zamūl-U m a r ā, minister of, taken prisoner, III. 135 *n.*

—brought to the Carnatic by Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān, II. 152.

—usurpation of, II. 179-81.

—M. Bussy besieged by, at Golkonda, II. 200.

—support of, enlisted by Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān, II. 264.

Nizāmat, I. 61, 109, 118; of Arcot, I. 76.

—Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla appointed to the, of Arcot, I. 51-57.

—of Dāwūd Khān in Pāyanghāt, I. 62-64.

—of Arcot, under Ṣafdar Ali Khān, I. 75-80; 137.

—establishment of Ghulām Murtaḍā Khān to the, of Arcot, and its subsequent vacancy, I. 80.

—of Arcot, and the Nawāyaṭs, I. 100-101.

—of the Deccan, obtained by Nawwāb Aṣafūd-Dawla Sayyid Ghāziyūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang, I. 135.

—of Ghulām Ali Khān in Vellore, I. 68.

—of Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā in Trichinopoly, I. 131-32.

—of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān at Chicacole, I. 22, 26, 27; at Farkhunda Bunyād Iṣaydarābād, I. 26, 42.

Nizāmūd-Dawla Mīr Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, Nawwāb, second son of Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh, I. 139, 142, II. 24 *n.*, 62.

—son of Aṣaf Jāh, release of, I. 55-56; 55 *f.n.*

—rebellion of, I. 83 *f.n.*

—grant made by Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā to the English, at the displeasure of, I. 104.

—the English expelled from Tiruvithi, by, I. 125.

—in charge of Awrangābād, I. 135-136; and Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, I. 137-38.

—letter of Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā to, on the affairs of the Carnatic, II. 24 *f.n.*; 27.

—reply of, to Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā, arrival of, at Hoskote, and met by Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān, II. 28-30.

—met by Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā at Belpur, and march of, towards Phulcheri and the capture by, of Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, II. 32-34.

—conspiracy against, and march of, to Arcot, II. 36-42.

—and the grant of Poonamalle to the English, II. 41-42 *f.n.*

—foundation of Bēgampūr by the mother of, 43.

—appointment of Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā to settle the affairs of Tiruvati and Tāhmāst Khān to settle the affairs of Chingleput, II. 44.

—instruction of, to Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā to drive out the English from Dewanampattan, and appointment of Abdūn-Nabī Khān and Himmat Bahādur Khān by, to destroy Tiruvati, and Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā's interview with, II. 48-50.

Nizāmūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān Bahādur father of Tājūd-Dīn Khān, III. 100.

Nizāmūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, *m.* Rābi'a Bēgam, and father of ʿAzīzūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 86.

Nizāmūd-Dīn of Amathī, his holiness, a saint in the reign of Akbar, IV. 58.

- Nizām-*ul*-Mulk, a title of Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh Nizām-*ud*-Dawla Chī Qilich Khān Bahādur Fataḥ Jang, I. 38; II. 15*n*. 37 *n.*, 61 *n.*, 179 *n*.
- Muḥammad Hāshim raised to the rank of a *diwān* by, I. 14 *f.n*.
- appointment of Saīdatullāh Khān to the *nizāmat* of Arcot, by, I. 64.
- capture of Trichinopoly by, I. 82-3 *f.n*.
- embassy of Governor Benyon to, I. 102 *f.n*.
- Nizām-*ul*-Mulki, a designation of Muḥammad Hāshim, I. 14 *f.n*.
- Noshirwān (Noshirwān), father of Yazdajird, an ancient king of Persia, II. 20 and *f.n.*, III. 41. IV. 56.
- Nungambakkam, excursions of Nawwāb Umdat-*ul*-Umarā Bahādur to the tank at, III. 145.
- Nūr-*ud*-Dīn, son of Hāji Ḥusayn, the chief of the taluk of Rājbandar, I. 41.
- Nūr-*ud*-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, III. 16.
- Nūr-*un*-nisā, Nawwāb, wife of Aḡim Jāh Bahādur, IV. 71.
- Nuṣrat Ali Khān, punishment of, for the theft of two mangoes from the Governor's garden, III. 157-8; pardon of, 158-9.
- Nuṣratgadh, the name of Jinji, I. 58, 118.
- Nuṣrat Jang a title of Muḥammad Najib-*ullāh* Khān Bahādur, II. 42.
- O**
- Oakes, Mr. III. 36: garden of, III. 62
- Ongole, III. 9; lease of the taluk of, granted to Iftikhār-*ud*-Dawla Bahādur, III. 60.
- P**
- Pachāndārkūdī, II. 117.
- Palāwal, M., M. Lally joined by, II. 201.
- Palaya Kalastri, Damarlawar, the *samindār* of, I. 98.
- Palaya Tondaman, II. 106 and *f.n*.
- Palir, M. II. 205; (Pouly) M. Lally joined by, II. 200.
- Palnar III. 9; lease of the taluk of, granted to Iftikhār-*ud*-Dawla Bahādur, III. 60.
- Pāndān, a case for keeping arecanuts and betel leaves, I- 55, 56.
- Pandit Pradhān, I. 46; invasion of the Deccan by, I. 47-51. Peshwa, I. 111.
- Pāndiyan Chronicle, I. 70 *f.n*.
- Panruti, I. 125.
- Parmūkāl (Perumukkal) capture of, from the French, II. 236, 237.
- fort of, reached by Ḥazrat-i-Aṭā, II. 246.
- Parsan Bī, *m*. Muḥammad Ishāq Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang, IV. 86.
- Parsan Bibī, the daughter of, was the first wife of Ashraf-*un*-nujabā Abd-*ul*-Alī, IV. 74.
- Patan (George-Town), III. 168.
- Pāyanghāt (Talaghat), I. 57 *f.n.*, 85, 99, 103, 107, 111, 137, II. 104.
- Khwāja Abdullāh Khān, the Nāzim of, I. 49.
- Rāja of, and the foundation of Madras, I. 98.
- nizāmat* of, conferred on Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, II. 62.
- Pēshkār, I. 33.
- Pēshkash nadhr, I. 131.
- Pēyālvar, I. 92 *f.n*.
- Philip, Alexander, a son of, I. xxii *f.n*.
- Phulcheri, (Pondicherry,) I. xxvi, 1; II. 2, 4, 27. 31, 32, 62, 69, 71, 96, 101, 105, 106, 110, 115, 116, 118, 119, 122, 123, 126, 127, 128, 132, 133, 137, 149, 159, 170, 171, 172, 177, 178, 181, 182, 185, 187, 188, 190, 191, 195, 199, 200, 201, 207, 213, 223, 225, 232, 236, 237, 240, 248, 249, 253, 256, 260, 261, 264, 266, 272.
- Phutānī (fried peas), the original surname of the Tāhirs, I. 81.
- Pigot, Lord, I. 124, II. 87, 190; —acquisition of territory during the regime of, I. 103 *f.n*.
- and Ḥadrat-i-Aṭā, I. 105.
- English Governor, IV. 65 *n*.

Pillow money, III. 19

Pīr-i-Dastgīr, III. 14; festival in honour of saint Maḥbūb-Subḥānī, IV. 29 n.

Pīr Pahlawān Ṣāhib, *dargāh* of, III. 141, 143.

—*urs* in memory of, IV. 40 and n.

Polier, Major, fatally wounded, II. 205 n.

Pondicherry, (Phulcheri), I. xxv., 101, 118, 119 n., 122, 123, II. 27, 69, 71, 85 n., 88 n., 110, 127, 131 n., 132, 133, 137, 147 n., 159, 169 n., 170, 171, 172, 178, 182, 188, 195, 197 n., 199, 200, 201, 203 n., 207, 213, 224, 225, 232, 237 n., 253, 264.

—subjugation of, I. xxvii.

—Friday music in commemoration of the victory at, 42.

—trade factory of the French at, I. 96.

—devastation of, by the Nawwāb of Arcot, I. 105.

—pictures removed after the capture of, 106.

—Dupleix, *sardār* of, I. 115.

—march of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā to, I. 126.

—Dupleix, Governor of, I. 138.

—meeting of Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān and M. Dupleix to devise plans to subjugate Nattharnagar, II. 2-3.

—reached by Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān and others after their defeat at Tanjore, II. 4.

—General Lawrence taken prisoner in the course of his attack on, II. 17 f.n.

—subjugated by Sir Eyre Coote, II. 1 n.

—arrival of Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān at, after the battle of Ambur, II. 25.

—flight of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān to, II. 31.

—march of Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the French from, II. 32-3.

—contemplated attack of, II. 36-42.

—Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān at, II. 62 and n.

Pondicherry, reached by the surviving French after their defeat at Tiruvati, II. 149.

—Muḥammad Kamāl appointed *taḥşıldār* of the *Pēşkash* in, II. 177.

—M. Sapir dispatched to, II. 188.

—reached by M. Lally and Kandis-tān, II. 190.

—flight of M. Lally to, II. 236, 237.

—plans for the subjugation of, II. 248.

—George Becket, asked to send ships to, II. 249.

—defeat of the French at, II. 252-8

—bound-hedge of, II. 256 n.

—Tadpan near, II. 260, 261.

—flight of M. Lally to, II. 262.

—besieged by Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, II. 266-7.

—subjugation of the fort and the hoisting of the *Wālājāhī* banners over, II. 268-270.

—Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā in the fort of, II. 270-71; fort of, demolished, II. 271-2.

—fort of, granted to the English Company, II. 272.

—*jāgīr* of, entrusted to Mīr Asa-dullāh Khān Bahādur, II. 272.

Poona, Close, Resident of, IV. 10 n.

Poonamalle, II. 47, 48; grant of, to the English, II. 41 and f.n.

Porto Novo (Maḥmūd-bandar), I. 121.

—coins minted at, I. 99 n.

—*maḥşul* from, and other taluks on the coast of the Carnatic assigned to meet the expenses of the charities by Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā at Makka and Madīna, II. 12-13.

—defeat of Ḥaydar Alī at, by Sir Eyre Coote, II. 18 n.

Portuguese, coming of the, to India, I. 89-93 and n.

—minting of coins by the, I. 99 n.

Pōtī Bēgam, second daughter of Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, and Nawwāb Bāgam, IV. 65.

—died of small-pox, II. 9.

Prayer, (Ṣalāt), I. 21 and f.n.

- Pratab Singh, a son of Tukoji, I. 95
 n.
 —father of Tuljaji of Tanjore, I. 95.
 —of Tanjore and Nawwāb Sirāj-ud-Dawla, I. 108.
 —and the invasion of Tanjore by Hidāyat Muhiyyud-Dīn Khān, Husayn Dōst Khān and M. Law, II. 4.
 —payment by, of respects to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 152-3.
 —appeal of, to Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 197.
 —terror of, II. 198.
 —success of, against M. Lally, II. 198-199.
 —zamindar of Tanjore, II. 202.
 —Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā received by, II. 214.
 Preston, Captain Achilles, II. 18 n., 216 n., at St. Thomas Mount, II. 217 n.
 —and Tanjore, II. 198-9; Chingleput garrisoned under, II. 203 n.
 Prince Jahān Shāh, father of Muḥammad Shāh, I. 38 f.n.
 Prince Mu'azzam, same as Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh, I. 37 f.n.
 Prishton, Major, see Preston, II. 215, 219, 220, 222.
 Pudukottah, 216 n.; (Tundimān), II. 239.
 Pulimādavaram, III. 168; tank, excursion of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to, III. 147-59.
 Pulitīyūr (Pulitevar) in union with Maḥfūẓ Khān in his rebellion, II. 264.
 Pūlūr, II. 70.
- Q
- Qādir 'Alī Khān, see Muḥammad Ḥayāt Qādir 'Alī Khān, III. 98, 99, 100.
 Qādiriyya, III. 14 and n., *Khilāfat* of, III. 14.
 Qādir Bī, see Fakhrūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 89.
 Qādir Nagar, a name of Tajāwar (Tanjore) after Ḥaḍrat Sayyid 'Abdul-Qādir, I. 60, II. 215.
 Qādir Nawāz Khān Bahādur, III. 13, 15, 19, 23, 30, 34, 35, 38, 45, 46, 48, 49, 51, 52, 56, 57.
 —instructed to have the care of palaces and offices, III. 42.
 —secretly ordered to attend to the management of the Government, III. 43, 44.
 —given the title *Bahrām Jung* by Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, III. 57.
 —compliments to, III. 137, 138.
Qalamdān, a chest for writing material, I. 17 and f.n.
Qalamdān-bardār, 'Umar Nawāz Khān in the *Kachahri Dārul-inshā Khāṣṣ fārsī*, IV. 35.
 Qamarud-Dawla, son of Ghulām 'Alī Sayfud-Dawla Bahādur and Mumtāz Bēgam, m. Munirun-nisā Bēgam, IV. 75, 77, 105.
 Qamarud-Dīn Khān, a son of 'Abdul-Qādir Khān, IV. 103.
 —d. of, m. to Muḥammad Muḥtabā, IV. 84.
 —father of Muḥammad 'Alī, IV. 93.
 Qamarun-nisā Bēgam, m. Ghulām Muḥammad Muṭahhar 'Alī Khān, IV. 78.
 Qannawj, IV. 58.
Qānūn-go, an officer whose duty is to register and expound the laws of the empire, I. 101 n., 109.
 Qāsim Khān, Nawwāb-designate of the Carnatic, grant of six villages by, to the English East India Company, I. 101 f.n.
 Qaṣūr, IV. 57.
 Qawī Jang Bahādur, a son of Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, III. 156.
 Qaysar (Kaiser), I. xxiii.
 Qāzī, I. 13.
 Qāzī 'Abdul-Wājid, father of Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, IV. 97.
 Qāzī Aḥmad, see Dāyim 'Alī Khān, II. 28 f.n.
 Qāzī Begī, son of Qāzī Muḥammad Sa'īd and father-in-law of Muḥammad Anwar Ḥājī Muqaddas, IV. 59.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Qāzi Dāyim, *see* Dāyim Ali Khān, II. 28 *f.n.*

Qāzi Fakhrūd-Dīn, son of Qāzi Shaykh Shu'ayb and father of Shaykh Ali, IV. 54.

Qāzi Lār, (Shaykh Abdullāh), IV. 54.

Qāzi Muḥammad Sa'īd, father of Qāzi Begi, IV. 59.

Qāzi Shaykh Ibrāhīm, son of Shaykh Alā'ud-Dīn and father of Shaykh Abdullāh (Qāzi Lār), IV. 54.

Qāzi Shaykh Shu'ayb, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmad and father of Qāzi Fakhrūd-Dīn, IV. 54.

Qāzi Sayyid Abdullāh Khān, IV. 31.

Qildārs, I. 138, 145.

Qisās, law of retaliation, I. 44, 45 and *f.n.*

Qiyāmūd-Dawla Bahādur, son of Ghulām Ali Sayfūd-Dawla Bahādur and Mumtāz Bēgam, *m.* Tāhir-un-nisā Bēgam, IV. 75, 77, 105.

Qubād, II. 260.

Qurbān Ali Khān, IV. 16.

Qubbād a king of Persia and father of Noshīrwān, I. xxii and *f.n.*, the court of Amīr-ul-Hind Wālājāh compared to that of, I. xxiii.

Qudrat Aḥmad, son of Hāfiz 'Ināyat Aḥmad, author of the *Khulāṣat-ul-Ansāb*, IV. 96.

Qudrat Ḥakīm Khān, son of Quṭbūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, wife and children of, IV. 99-100.

Qudrat Ḥasan, son of Qudrat Ḥakīm Khān, IV. 99.

Qudrat Ḥaydar, son of Qudrat Ḥakīm Khān, IV. 99-100.

Qudrat Karīm Khān, *d. of, m. to* Mansūrūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 95. —son of Quṭbūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, *m. the d. of* Zafarūd-Dawla Ruknūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 99.

Qudrat Muḥammad, son of Quṭbūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, wives and children of, IV. 98-99.

Qudrat Raḥīm Khān (Faḡlullāh Khān), son of Quṭbūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, wife and children of, IV. 99.

Qudratullāh Khān, IV. 35, appointment of, as *mutawallī* to look after

the tombs of Aḡimūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III. and Aḡam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. in the compound of the *Jāmi'-masjid*, IV. 31.

Qudwat-us-sālikin, a title of Abdūl-Ḥayy, I. 9.

Quraysh, the ancestors of Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḡā, the children of, I. 1.

—the Nawwāṭ are descendants of the children of the, I. 64-65.

Quṭb-i-'Ālam Ḥaḍrat Farīdūd-Dīn Shakar Ganj, son of Sulaymān the *qāḍī* of Kahwal, IV. 57.

Quṭb Minār, III, 14 *n.*

Quṭbūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, son of Shaykh Ghulām Aḥmad, wife and children of, IV. 98-100.

Quṭbūd-Dīn Ali Khān, grandson of Munīrūd-Dīn Khān *m.* Farḥat-un-nisā Bēgam, IV. 78.

Quṭbūd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, III. 14 *n.*

Quṭbūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, III. 34, 46-7.

Quṭbūd-Dīn Khān Bakhshī, III. 18; rebellion of, III. 10.

—got the title *Bahādur*, III. 57. —revolt of the army against, III. 85-6.

Quṭbūd Dīn Khān Himmat Jang, temporarily appointed *amin* of Nattharnagar, III. 94.

R

Rābi'a, *d. of* Mawlawī Ilāhdād, *m.* Shaykh Khayrullāh, IV. 97.

Rābi'a Bēgam, *d. of* Khādīja Bēgam, *m.* Niẓāmūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, IV, 86.

Rābi'a Bēgam (Amīr Bēgam), *d. of* Ḥalīm-un-nisā *m.* Ghulām Aḥmad Khān Bahādur, IV. 106.

Raghu(o)ji Bhonsle, I. 70 *f.n.*, II. 92. —a *sardār* of the Mahrattas, invasion of South India by, I. 72.

—capture of Husayn Dōst Khān by, at Trichinopoly, I. 137.

—succeeded by Januji, II. 181 *f.n.* Rāḥat-un-nisā Bēgam, wife of Abdūl-Qādir Khān, IV. 102.

INDEX PARTS—I-IV

- Rahim Khān, a *risāladār* of the royal *chowki*, I. 35.
- Rahīmūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 72; *d.* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Lāl-mahall, *m.* Ghulām Nabī Khān Afrāsiyāb Jang, IV. 88.
- Rahmān 'Alī Khān Bahādur, *dārogha* of the *kachakri*, III. 18, 34, 47.
- got the title *Bahādur*, III. 57.
- Rahmān 'Alī Khān the elder, father of Muḥabbat 'Alī Khān, III. 6, 111.
- Rahmān Khān, a *risāladār* of the royal *chowki*, I. 35.
- Rahmat Bībī, *d.* of Khayrūd-Dīn Khān I, *m.* Waliullāh Khān, IV. 98.
- Rahmatūn-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Ahmadi Bēgam and 'A'izzūd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang, *m.* 'I'tizādu'd-Dawla Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur, IV. 82.
- sister of Sarfarāz 'Alī Khān Bahādur, and mother-in-law of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 108.
- Rahmatūn-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Nawwāb Shukōhu'l-Mulk and Allāh Rakhī Bēgam, *m.* Najmūd-Dīn Husayn Khān, IV. 92.
- Rāi Anand Rao, appointed *pēshkār* III. 77 and *f.n.*
- Rāi Ganga Bashan (Bashandas) a friend of Raja Ramdas, II. 49 and *f.n.*
- Rāi Hanmant Rāi Bahādur, III. 61.
- Rāi Khūb Chand Bahādur, III. 73.
- Rāi Khūb Chand, III. 77; honoured with the titles *Bahādur* and *Rāi Rāyān* by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 70.
- Rāil (Rāja of Chandragiri), I. 98.
- decline of the rule of, I. 100.
- Rāi Manulal, the *mīr-munshī* in the office of administration of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 109.
- Rai Reddi Rao, appointed *pēshkār*, III. 76; 76-7 *f.n.*
- Ra'isul-Umarā Bahādur, same as Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Abdul-Husayn Khān son of Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam, III. 9, 73, 77, 100, 108, 164, 167, 170, 175, IV. 5, 48, 82; marriage fixed with the daughter of Ghulām Ashraf Khān Bahādur III. 36; marriage celebration of, III. 60-5, 112 and *n.*
- father-in-law of Muḥaminad Husaynūd-Dīn, IV. 104.
- the birthday celebrations of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur in the *dīwān-khāna* of, III. 140.
- Nuṣrat 'Alī Khān in the employ of, III. 157; obtained the pardon of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur for Nuṣrat 'Alī Bahādur Khān, III. 158.
- secret report by, to Nawwāb Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam about the talk of the possible accession of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur to the throne, III. 162.
- report to, of the developments in the palace, by 'Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 5.
- permission to, to go to Baytul-lāh, IV. 18.
- death of, at Karbalā, IV. 76.
- Rr'isul-Umarā Bahādur Sirājul-Mulk, brother of Muḥammad Karīm, married a *sayyida*, IV. 42.
- Ra'isūn-nisā Bēgam, Nawwāb, wife of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, III. 48.
- a Turkan *mahall* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and mother of a son and three daughters, IV. 88-89.
- confirmation of the *jāgir* of, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 66.
- present to, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 120.
- Rajbandar, 40; battle and confiscation of, by Jān-i-Jahān, I. 40-42; *nigāmat* of, II. 176.
- Raja Bashan Das, II. 41 *f.n.*
- Rāja Bhakunt Rāi Bahādur, the *mīr-munshī*, the *Dārul-inshā khāṣṣ fārsī* under, IV. 35.
- Raja Khūb Chand Bahādur, the *mīr-munshī*, III. 117.
- Raja Kishandas, II. 30.
- Raja Raghunath Das, a title of Raja Ramdas, II. 63.
- Rājārām, I. 59.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Rāja Ramdas, II. 62, 67, 77, *Raja Raghunath Das* a title of, II. 63.
- Peshkār-bakhshī* of Nawwāb Nizāmūd-Dawla Mīr Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Nāsir Jang, conspiracy of, to improve the position of Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, II. 37-42.
- bakhshī* of the *wazīr's* army, II. 49 and *f.n.*
- and the saving of the life of Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, II. 55-6.
- Raja Sahib, *see* Rīzā 'Alī Khān.
- Raja Sampath Rai, II. 30, 41 *n.* 49.
- the English granted seven villages through the mediation of, I. 103, 107.
- diwān* of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, I. 109.
- interest of, in Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur, I. 129, 130, 131.
- appointment of Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur to the *nizāmat* of Arcot by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur through the influence of, I. 132-4.
- deliverance of, obtained by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 2.
- Rakhoji, entrusted the fort of Nattharnagar to Karāchūrī Nandraj, II. 146.
- Ramdas Pandit, II. 41 *n.*, *Peshkār* of Shāh Nawāz Khān, II. 33 *f.n.*, 49 *n.*
- Ram Singh Bayrāgī, a musician, III. 25, 26, 30.
- Ramnād, I. 132, II. 26; zamindar of, I. 59.
- named 'Walī Nagar' after Ghulām Walī, I. 60.
- Ramnath (Walīnagar), II. 215.
- Ramraj, a zamindar, I. 40.
- Ram Rao, III. 61; the *mutasaddī* at the house of the elder sister of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 45.
- Ranad Allāh Khān, II. 48 *f.n.*
- Randūla Khān, Sīra conquered for Bijāpūr by, I. 113 *f.n.*
- Rangappa Nāyak, built the fort of Sīra, I. 112 *f.n.*
- Ranjangadh, (Ranjangudi) II. 110, 129, 147 *n.*; Mu'tabir Khān, the *jāgirdār* of, II. 58 *f.n.*; 59-61.
- flight of the enemy towards the fort of, and the perfidy of the keeper of the fort of, II. 82-5 and *f.n.*, victory of Clive at, II. 115, 116; camp of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā at, II. 242-3.
- Raṭimala, II. 155.
- Rawdatul-sh-shuhadā*, a work of Mīr Walī Fayyād, I. 75.
- Rāziya Bēgam, a daughter of Nawwāb Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 81.
- Rāziya Bēgam (daughter of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur by his mistress attached to Mahtāb Bēgam) marriage of, with Tājūd-Dīn Khān, III. 100-01, IV. 69.
- Risāladār*, I. 35, 36, 108, 143, 144, II. 265.
- Riyāsat*, I. 80.
- Riyāzullāh Khān, IV. 96.
- Rīzā 'Alī Khān, (Raja Sahib) son of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, I. 138; II. 105, 156, 159, 170, 193, 202 *n.*
- jāgirdār* of Vellore, I. 76-77.
- siege of Chennapattan by, I. xxxii and *f.n.*
- help of, to Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, I. 141.
- defeat of, at Arcot and Arni, II. 91-6 and *n.*; flight of, to Pondicherry, II. 96.
- under Dupleix's protection, II. 131.
- Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān the father-in-law of, II. 188, 201.
- instigation of M. Sapīr by, II. 189.
- entrusted with Chettupat by M. Sapīr, II. 190.
- seated on the throne of Arcot, and entrusted with Wandwāsī and other forts, II. 201-02.
- weakness of, II. 217.
- letter of, to Ḥaydar 'Alī Khān for help, II. 253.
- flight of, from Pondicherry to Negapatam and thence to Ceylon, II. 267 and *n.*

- Riżā Ḥusayn, son of Ḡhulām Kāzim, *m.* Abbāsi Bēgam, IV. 83.
- Riżā Ḥusayn Khān, son of Abdūl-Qādir Khān and son-in-law of Naṣīrūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, IV. 102.
- Riżā Nawāz Khān, III. 86; appointed the *nāib* of Amīrūl-Mulk Bahādur, III. 70.
- order of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to, III. 149.
- bakhshi*, instruction to, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to remain with Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 174.
- Riżāyār Jang, III. 45.
- Riżāyār Khān, the *bakhshi*, III. 147, 148.
- Rōshan Muḥammad Khān, *d. of, m.* to Ḡhulām Mujtabā, IV. 100.
- Ruknūd-Dawla Bahādur the elder, III. 36.
- Ruknūd-Dawla Ḡhulām Ashraf Khān Bahādur, arrival of, from Ḥaydarābād, III. 9.
- d. of*, married to Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Abdūl-Ḥusayn Khān, IV. 82.
- Ruknūd-Dīn Khān, conferment of title on, III. 9.
- given the title *Niẓāmūd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān* and appointed as the *fawjdar* of the *ṣūba* of Muḥammadpūr (Arcot), III. 60.
- Ruknūd-Dīn Khān Zafarūd-Dawla, *d. of*, married to Muḥammad Ḥabibullāh, IV. 85.
- Rūm (Constantinople), I. 18; the Sultan of, I. xxvii.
- Sultan of, renewed the hereditary right of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā in holy places, II. 12.
- Rūmī, Alexander of Greece, I. xxii *f.n.*
- Ruqayya Bēgam, *d. of* I'tiẓādūd-Dawla Hāfiẓ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān, *m.* Taqī Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur, IV. 102; mother-in-law of Ḡhulām Muḥammad Ḥusayn, IV. 73.
- Rustam, II, 207, IV. 63; courage of, I. 108.
- Rustam, son of Zāl, the most renowned hero among the Persians, II. 17 and *f.n.*
- Rustam Jang*, Himmat Bahādur given the title of, II. 63.
- Rustam Jang Bahādur (Hāfiẓ Ḥasan Ali Khān), IV. 87.

S

- Sa'adatbandar (Covelong) brought under the control of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 138 and *f.n.*
- Sa'adatnāma, a Persian history of the house of Sa'adatullāh Khān, I. 64.
- Sa'adatun-nisā, a daughter of Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur by a mistress, IV. 72.
- Sa'adatun-nisā Bēgam, mother of six sons and two daughters by Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, IV. 72.
- Sa'adatullāh Khān (Muḥammad Sa'īd) *dīwān* of Nawwāb Dāwūd Khān, I. 68.
- held the *niẓāmat* of Arcot, I. 64-69 and 64 *f.n.*
- and the French, I. 96.
- hūns* of, I. 99 *f.n.*
- and the English, I. 101 *f.n.*, and 102.
- Sa'adatullāh Khān, ten year old son of Nawwāb Saḍdar Ali Khān Shahīd killed by Yadul Khān, an Afghan, I. 80, 110-11.
- Sabīn, M. (Saubinet), M.Lally joined by, II. 200.
- wounding of, II. 207; death of II. 208.
- Sabīna, M. part in the siege of Chennapattan and death of, II. 204-08.
- Sabz-bangla, III. 88, 115, 118, 120.
- Ṣādiq Ali Khān Bahādur, III. 15, 16, 23.
- m.* Hāfiẓa Bēgam, IV. 86.
- father of Ḡhawth Muḥammad Khān, IV. 89.
- father of Jalālūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 90.
- Ṣadr-i-taḍalat, III. 17 *n.*
- Ṣadrūs-ṣudūr, IV. 58.
- Sadurangapatan, (Sadras), I. 94-5 and 95 *f.n.*

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Şafawiyya sultans of Irān, II. 6.

Şafdar Ali, granted the title *Haydar Nawās Khān* and appointed to the post of *nāib* to *qiltadār* of Muḥammadpur, III. 93.

Şafdar Ali Khān, Nawwāb *Shahīd*, I. 70 *n.*, II. 140.

—son of Nawwāb Ali Dōst *Khān*, I. 69.

—brother-in-law of Muḥammad Taqī Ali *Khān*, II. 139.

—fight and peace of, with the *Mah-rattas*, I. 72-74.

—and the capture of Trichinopoly, I. 82-3 *f.n.*

—and the French, I. 97.

—grant of five villages to the English, by, I. 102 and 102-03 *f.n.*

—Husayn Dōst *Khān* captured during the *niḡamat* of, 137.

—Nawwāb, *niḡamat* and martyrdom of, I. 75-80.

—murder of, by Ghulām Murtaẓā *Khān*, I. 83 *f.n.*, 140.

—Arcot brought under the control of the Deccan after the murder of, I. 82.

—*hūns* of Nawwāb Şafdar Ali *Khān*, I. 92 *f.n.*

—murder of, avenged, I. 146.

—Mīr Asadullāh *Khān* the *diwān* of, I. 104, II. 174.

Şafdar Jang Bahādur, III. 23.

Şaff Shikan Khān and his son, defeat of, by Husayn Dōst *Khān* and the French, II. 42-4 and *f.n.*

—defeat of, by the French at Tiruvati, II. 51-2 and *f.n.*

Şafīyya Khānam, wife of Nāşirūd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh *Khān*, IV. 111.

Şāhib Bēgam Bībī şāhiba, the name of *Khayrūd-nisā Bēgam*, III. 136 *n.*

Şāhib-i-da'wat, one who invokes blessings, I. 66-67 and 66 *f.n.*, 68.

Şāhib-nagar (Balkūdam), III. 92.

Şāhibūd-Dawla, III. 81, 82, 95, 146.

Şāhibūd-Dawla Jalādat Jang, a title conferred on Muḥammad Karīm *Khān Bahādur* by Amīrūl-Hind

Wālājāh Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 4.

Şāhibūd-Dawla Karīm Miyān, the author of the *Sawānīhāt-i-Mumtās* III. 80.

Şāhib Zādī-i-Khurd, same as Nawwāb *Umdatūn-nisā Bēgam*, III. 4.

Saidapet (*Sayyidābād*), III. 131, 132; excursions of Nawwāb *Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur* to the tank at, III. 145.

—*Rōshanbāgh* in, IV. 40.

Şaīdūd-Dawla Bahādur, the *Aşaf-jāhī vakil*, III. 121.

Şaīdūn-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Nawwāb *Shukōhul-Mulk Diler Jang Naşirūd-Dawla* II. and *Ḥamidūn-nisā Bēgam Şāhiba*, *m.* *Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh* III., and mother of two sons and a daughter, IV. 70, 74, 95.

Şaīdūn-nisā Bēgam (*Nawāsī Bēgam* the senior), *d.* of Ghulām Walīullāh, *m.* the son of *I'tizādūd-Dawla Bahādur*, IV. 76, 77.

Saiyaji, a son of *Tukoji*, I. 95 *f.n.*

Sājida Bēgam, *d.* of *Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur m. Muḥammad Taqī*, IV. 77, 107.

Sājida Bēgam, *d.* of *Khurshīd Bānū*, *m.* the son of Nawwāb *Sayful-Mulk Bahādur*, IV. 106.

Sājnī, III. 25.

Sakina Bēgam (*Iklilūn-nisā Bēgam*), wife of Ghulām Ali *Sayfūd-Dawla Bahādur*, IV. 75.

Şalābat Jang Bahādur, Nawwāb, II. 130 *f.n.*, 131, 151, 178, 179, 180, 181, 192.

—third son of Nawwāb *Aşaf Jāh* the *nāḡim* of the Deccan, after the murder of his elder brother, I. 135-6.

—elder brother of *Basālat Jang*, II. 229 *n.*

—grant of *Chicacole* to the French by, I. 97.

—*Rāja Ramdas*, *diwān* of, II. 49 *f.n.*

—raising of, to the throne, II. 66 *f.n.*

- Ṣalābat Jang Bahādur, seated on the throne, II. 67.
 —idea of, to fight against Nawwāb Aṣafūd-Dawla Ghāziūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, II. 127.
 —letter of, to Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡlā, II. 135; delay of reply to, II. 136.
 —occupation of the Deccan throne by, with the help of the French, II. 143.
 —and the murder of Nawwāb Aṣafūd-Dawla Ghāziūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang, II. 143-5 and 143 *f.n.*
 —M. Bussy in the service of, II. 178-9.
 —set aside by Nizām Āli Khān, II. 181.
 —poisoned Nawwāb Aṣafūd-Dawla Ghāziūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, II. 182.
 —letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḡlā to, II. 182; and Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, the *nāẓim* of Bengal, II. 183.
 —support of, to the French, II. 188.
 —company of, left by M. Bussy, II. 200.
 Ṣalābat Jang, Wazīr, Kurnool carried away by assault by, II. 48 *f.n.*
 Sālār Jang Bahādur, III. 15, 23, 34, 38, 42, 48, 49, 51, 55, 56, 57, 66, 70, 71, 131, 173, 174, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, IV. 2, 5, 6, 7*n.*, 8, 46, 114.
 —in charge of the arrangements of the marriage festivities of Ra'īsūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 61.
 —and the marriage of Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur, 108 *ff.*
 —made arrangements for the marriage of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur with the daughter of Nawwāb Sayfūl-Mulk Bahādur, III. 79.
 —order of Nawwāb Umdatūl-Umarā Bahādur to, III. 148-9.
 —reply of, to Colonel Barrett Bahādur, IV. 3.
 Sālār Jang Muḥammad Najīb Khān Bahādur, III. 13.
 Ṣalāt (Prayer), I. 21-22 *f.n.*
 Ṣāliḥa Bēgam (Sayyid Bēgam), II. 6.
 Ṣāliḥa Bēgam, senior grand-daughter of Nawwāb Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Aḥmadī Bēgam and A'izzūd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang *m.* Khān-i-Ālam Khān Bahādur and mother of Mun'imūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 71-2, 81.
 Sālīm, son of Shaykh Abdullāh and Bakht Bānu, and forefather of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, IV. 56.
 Salīmghadh, the prison house for princes, II. 145.
 Samarqand, a city in the Transoxania, I. 6 *f.n.*
 Samīwāram (Samayavaram) II. 85, 88, 116, 129; Aḥsanūd-Dīn Khān, defeat of, at, II. 111-113 and *f.n.*
 Sampat Rao, grant of Mylapore by, to the English, I. 103 *f.n.*
 —the *diwān* of Nawwāb Shahīd sent by Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān to enlist his support, II. 264.
 Ṣamṣām Jang Bahādur, a nephew of Nawwāb 'Umdatūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 58.
 Ṣamṣāmūd-Dawla Bahādur, a title of Abdūl-Hādī, II. 9, 179.
 Ṣamṣāmūl-Mulk Ṣamṣāmūd-Dawla Muḥammad Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Ṣamṣām Jang (Abdūl-Hādī) IV. 101.
 Sandilā, II. 6.
 San Thomē (Mylapore) I. 91 *f.n.*; 92 *f.n.*, 101 *n.*, IV. 47 *n.*
 —rented by Casa Verona, I. 100 *f.n.*
 —Port of, II. 176.
 —abandoned by the French, II. 226 *f.n.*
 Sapīr, M., Soupire II. 187 and *f.n.*; 188; Chettupattu taken by, II. 189 and *n.*
 —Chettupat entrusted to Rīzā Āli Khān by, II. 190.
 Sāra Bēgam, a *d.* of Majdūd-Dawla, IV. 107.
 Sardār, I. 96.
 Sārfarāz Āli Khān Bahādur, III. 53; son of Nawwāb Shukōhūl-Mulk and Allāh Rakhī Bēgam, IV. 91.
 —and the marriage of Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 108 *ff.*

- Sarfarāz Alī Khān Bahādur, d. of, m. to Muḥammad Azīzullāh Khān Ashraf Jang Bahādur, IV. 92.
- Sarfarāz Ḥasan Khān Bahādur Muḥtasham Jang (Nadīmullāh Shāhib), son of Nawwāb Shukōḥul-Mulk and Allāh Rakhī Bēgam, IV. 92.
- Sarfarāz Khān Bahādur Ashrafūl-Mulk, III. 56, a son of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Nawwāb Zēbūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 89.
- and Abdūl-Ḥamīd Khān Bahādur, sons of Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḡla by one mother, II. 104.
- Sarfarāz Khān Bahādur, III. 120.
- Sarfarāz Khān, III. 144.
- Sarfoji, a son of Venkaji, I. 95 f.n.
- Sātgaḍh, fort of, II. 138.
- Saunders, Mr. II. 130 n. and Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḡla, I. 104.
- Governor, II. 89 f.n.; 90 f.n.
- Savai Shahji (Kāttu Rājā), a Pretender, I. 95 f.n.
- Sawānīḥāt-i-Mumtāz*, a work of Ghulām Zāmin Muḥammad Karīm, IV. 66, 85, 116.
- reason for the compilation of the, III. 3-8.
- Sawār*, an honour, I. 36 f.n.
- Sayer, I. 103 n.
- Sayfūd-Dawla Bahādur, Nawwāb, son of Badrūn-nisā Bēgam, III. 144, IV. 79, 109.
- younger sister of, m. to Ghulām Khayrullāh, IV. 83.
- Ghulām Pīr, m. to the elder sister of, IV. 84.
- m. Mumtāz Bēgam, IV. 102.
- sons of, IV. 105.
- Sayfūl-Mulk Anwarūd - Dawla Muḥammad Anwar Khān Bahādur Husām Jang, Nawwāb, third son of Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I. m. Badrūn-nisā Bēgam, daughter of Nawwāb Shukōḥul-Mulk Bahādur and Allāh Rakhī Bēgam, II. 8, 9, 204, 211, III. 25, 37, 46, 48, 53, 56, 74, 101, 110, 144, 145, 146, 158, 164, 174, IV. 11 n., 64, 67.
- Sayfūl-Mulk Anwarūd-Dawla Muḥammad Anwar Khān Bahādur Husām Jang, children of, IV. 75-7.
- m. Badrūn-nisā Bēgam, IV. 92.
- son of, m. to Sājida Bēgam, IV. 106.
- father of Ghulām Alī, III. 57.
- daughter of, married to Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur, III. 78-79; IV. 76-77.
- and his son Husāmūd-Dawla Ghulām Rīzā Khān, III. 79-82; IV. 75.
- alleged anxiety of, to succeed to the throne, III. 83.
- and the marriage of Shahsawār Jang, III. 99.
- visit of, to Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 169.
- residence of, behind Amīr-bāgh, IV. 11.
- Aḡimūd-Dawla Bahādur, congratulated by, IV. 11-12.
- Nawwāb Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam, junior to, IV. 65.
- Ruqayya Bēgam, grand-daughter of, IV. 73.
- Sayyida, IV. 42.
- Sayyidābād (Saidāpet), III. 131, 132, 145.
- Sayyid Abdūl-Karīm, a *risāladār* under Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, I. 143, 144.
- Sayyid Abdūl-Qādir al-Jilānī, instituted the Qādiriyya order, III. 14.
- Sayyid or Shaykh Abdūl-Qādir Husaynūl-Husaynī, founder of the Qādiriyya order of mendicants, same as Mahbūb-subḥānī, IV. 29 n.
- Sayyid Abūl-Qāsim, (Mīr Alam), III. 135 n.
- Sayyid Alī, a son of Mīr Nigāmūd-Dīn Aḥmad, II. 6.
- Sayyid Alī Khān, II. 71, 128.
- the senior maternal uncle of Nawwāb Bēgam, I. 131, II. 7, 158, 213.
- appointed to the post of *Nāib* by Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḡla, I. 131.
- a companion of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān, I. 24.

- Sayyid Ali Khān Ṣafawīyyūl-Mūsawī, Secretary to Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, I. 108.
- Sayyid Ali Khān Bahādur placed in charge of the fort of Nattharnagar, II. 26.
- Sayyid Ali Khān, the *qilḍār* II. 165.
- sent to defend Nattharnagar, II. 193.
- the *nāṣim* of Nattharnagar, II. 198.
- appointed councillor of Qhulām Husayn, II. 241.
- Sayyid Ali Khān Ṣāhib, the senior, Khadija Bēgam, the sister's daughter of, IV. 63.
- Sayyid 'Aṣim Khān Mubārīz Jang Bahādur, III. 38, 52.
- Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur speaks to III. 43-4.
- Sayyid Bēgam (Ṣāliḥa Bēgam), daughter of Mir Maṣṣūr and wife of Aḥsanūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, a relation of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, II. 6.
- Sayyida Bēgam Riẓwī al-Maṣḥadī, grandmother of Khadija Bēgam, IV. 63.
- Sayyid Badrūd-Dīn, (Budū Shahīd), martyrdom of, I. 92-3.
- Sayyid Fataḥ Ali Khān, appointed to defend Chennapattan, II. 193.
- letter of Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā to, II. 217.
- Sayyid Qhulām Murtaẓā Khān, M. Lally helped by, with army and provisions, II. 201.
- Sayyid Ibrāhīm, III. 80.
- Sayyid Ibrāhīm, *ṣābadār*, entrusted with the construction of the *Mubārak-Chawki*, III. 88-9.
- Sayyid Ibrāhīm Ali Khān, failure of, to capture Tiyaḡgadh, (Tyaga-drug), II. 238-39.
- Sayyid Imāmūd-Dīn, IV. 23.
- Sayyid Lashkar Ali Khān, II. 49 n., 143 n.
- advice of, to Nāṣir Jang, II. 40.
- first *diwān* of Aṣaf Jāh, I. 49, 52.
- Sayyid Maḥḥdūm, III. 47, 86.
- Sayyid Maḥḥdūm Ali Khān, II. 71, 129, 198, 199, 215.
- father of Sayyid Ibrāhīm Ali Khān, II. 238.
- appointed leader of the *Dakḥnī risāla* by Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā, I. 132.
- deputed to watch over the boundaries of the kingdom, II. 26.
- sent to guard Nattharnagar, II. 193.
- stationed near Srirang, II. 239.
- and the siege of Kārikāl, II. 243, 144.
- Sayyid Mirān, a *risāladār* under Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān, 143.
- Sayyid Muḥammad Qhawth of Gwalior, Pīr of his holiness Sayyid Abdu'l-Qādir Ṣāhib Nāḡūrī, II. 196.
- Sayyid Muḥammad Khān, infant son of Ṣafdar Ali Khān, proclaimed successor to his father, I. 83 f.n.
- Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣāhib of Bijāpūr grandfather of 'Abida Bēgam, the second wife of Muḥammad Karīm, IV. 43.
- Sayyid Muḥiyyūd-Dīn, III. 47.
- Sayyid Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Nawāz Khān, III. 86.
- Sayyid Murtaẓā Husaynī, son of Mir Jalālūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 107.
- Sayyid Nāṣir Ali Khān, II. 77, 128, 215.
- manager of all the *bāndārs* of Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, I. 109.
- the *sardār* of the rear guard of the army of Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā, I. 122.
- appointed *qilḍār* by Ḥaḍrat-i-Aḷā, I. 131.
- deputed to watch over the boundary of the kingdom, II. 26.
- the *silḍār*, II. 165.
- sent to defend Nattharnagar, II. 193.
- stationed near Srirang, II. 239.
- appointed councillor of Qhulām Husayn, II. 241.
- Sayyid Natthar Walī, His Holiness, I. 197.
- Sayyid Nūr Ali, III. 18, 21, 63.
- Sayyid Riẓā Nawāz Khān, *bakhshī*, III. 177, 179.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

- Sayyid Sajjād, *m.* Zinat'un-nisā and father of Ghulām Husayn, IV. 76.
- Sayyid Shāh Karīmullāh Shāhib, visit of, to Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 179.
- Sayyid Sharīf Khān, the second *diwān* of Aṣaf Jāh, I. 49, 52.
- Sayyid Shībhatullāh, IV. 23.
- Seringapatam, III. 136, 138; fall of, III. 133 and *n.*, 135 *n.*
—siege of, IV. 10 *n.*
- Seringapatam correspondence of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 4 *n.*, 17 and *n.*
- Shafī'un-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Mumtāz-ul-Umarā Bahādur, *m.* Nawwāb Aḡīm Jāh Bahādur and mother of Amatul-Walī Wali'un-nisā Bēgam, IV. 71.
- Shāh Abul-Layth Shāhib, III. 15.
- Shāh 'Alam, Emperor, confirmation of privileges to the English East India company through Nawwāb Dāwūd Khān, I. 101 *f.n.*
- Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Pādshāh Ghāzī the Emperor at Delhi, III. 136.
- Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh, successor of Awrangzēb, I. 36-7 and *f.n.*
- Shāh Alī Ganj Gawhar, tomb of, at Wardāwūr, visited by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aṭā, II. 246.
- Shāh Alīmullāh Shāhib, asked to read the *sūra-i-yāsīn*, III. 180.
—invited to recite verses from the holy Qurān, III. 181, 182.
- Shāh Bēgam, daughter of Sultān'un-nisā Bēgam, III. 100.
- Shāh Bēgam, wife of 'Izzūd-Dīn Khān, III. 29.
- Shahābūd-Dīn, a son of Nawwāb Aṣafūd-Dawla, II. 61 *f.n.*
- Shahābūd-Dīn Aḥmad Talash, I. 90 *f.n.*
- Shāh Abū Saīd of Bareilly, II. 15.
- Shāh Abū Saīd Shāhib, III. 15.
- Shahāmat Jang, a title conferred on Jān-i-Jahān by Shāh 'Alam, I. 37.
- Shahāmat Jang, a title of the elder brother of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aṭā, II. 42.
- Shahāmat Jang Bahādur, grant of Mylapore by, to the English, I. 103 *f.n.*
- Shāh Ashrafullāh (Ghulām Husayn Khān Bahādur Sikandar Jang), IV. 95.
- Shāh Bēgam, same as Aḥmadī Bēgam, IV. 81.
- Shāh Dastgīr Shāhib, *fātiḥa* of, III. 103.
- Shāh Faṭhullāh Shāhib, tomb of, II. 166, 167, 168.
- Shāh Ghāzī Pādshāh, Emperor of Delhi, letter from, to Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 117-18.
- Shādī Bēgam *d.* of Mīr Hāshim Alī, wife of Nawwāb Naṣīr-ul-Mulk Bahādur and mother of Amatul-Sakīna Bēgam, IV. 68-69, 79.
- Shahīd, Nawwāb, (Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur), I. 27 *n.*, II. 20, 22, 23, 25, 67, 176, 177, III. 4.
—*fātiḥa* said in memory of, I. 27 *f.n.*
—Sampat Rai, the *diwān* of, II. 264.
- Shāhjahān, I. 36 *n.*, 37 *n.*, 90, *n.*
- Shāhjahānābād, (Mughal Delhi), I. 12 *f.n.*, 28, 108, II. 39, 72, 79, 143, 144, 151, 176.
—Nawwāb Hājī Muḥammad Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, reaches and attains high rank in the court of, I. 14-16.
—Ḥaẓrat-i-Aṭā born at, II. 5.
- Shahji (Bhonsle), father of Sivaji and Venkaji, I. 95 *f.n.*
- Shāh Maḥmūd Shāhib, III. 46; entertainment of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur by, III. 102-03.
- Shāh Maḥmūd Shāhib Sāwī, III. 10, 14, 19, 39, 110, 116, 131; house of, III. 132.
—visit of, to Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 179.
- Shāh Nawāz Khān, the third *Diwān* of Aṣaf Jāh, I. 49-50, 52, 53; II. 50, 179 and *n.*

- Shāh Nawāz Khān, imprisonment of Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān by, II. 33.
- Shāh Qudratullāh Shāhib, III. 11, 14, 15, 16, 23, 39, 43, 46, 110.
- Shāh Rahmatullāh Shāhib, residence of, at Porto Novo, I. 121.
- Shahsawār Jang, III. 93, 101, 144.
- Shahsawār Jang, marriage of, with the daughter of Muḥammad Ḥayāt Qādir 'Alī Khān, III. 10, 98-100.
- Shāh Tāhir, Dakhnī, influence at the court of Burhān Nizām Shāh Pādshāh of Aḥmadnagar, I. 81 and *f.n.*
- Shāh Tāhir Junaydī, same as Shāh Tāhir Dakhnī, I. 81 *f.n.*
- Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafawīyyūl-Mūsawī, the ruler of Irān, II. 6.
- Shāh Waliullāh, I. 147.
- Shakūrūn-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Nāsirūd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabībullah Khān. *m.* Bāqir Ḥusayn Khān, IV. 111.
- Shara', law, I. 45, II. 20.
- Sharafūl-Umarā Anwārūd-Dawla Bahādur, son of Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān Sharafūl-Umarā Bahādur, III. 111, IV. 55.
- purchase of the Maḥbūb-bāgh by, III. 159.
- Sharafūl-Mulk Bahādur, brother of 'Umdatul-'Ulamā-Muftī Badrūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 30, 35, 51.
- brother of Sukālī Bēgam, IV. 93.
- the *kachahri Bahkshī-giri* entrusted to, IV. 34.
- Sharaful-Mulk Mawlawī Muḥammad Ghawth Khān Bahādur, a title of Mawlawī Muḥammad Ghawth Shāhib, IV. 17.
- Sharaful-Umarā Bahādur, a title of the brother of Nawwāb Bēgam Shāhiba, IV. 17.
- Sharafūl-Umarā Bahādur Muḥammad Ni'mullāh Khān. *m.* Ikrāmūn-nisā, IV. 68.
- d.* of, married to Ḥaydar Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur Imtiyāzūd-Dawla, IV. 81,
- Sharafūn-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Ra'isūn-nisā Bēgam, *m.* Abdūl-Ḥafīz Khān Bahādur Saṭwat Jang, IV. 89.
- Sharīf, I. xxiii., IV. 23, 30.
- Sharīf of Makka, the *majlis* of the, I. 13.
- Shaykh Abdūl-Ḥakim Khān Shāhid, father of Muḥammad Khayrūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur, the senior, IV. 61.
- Shaykh Abdūl-Ḥayy, *m.* the third daughter of Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur and Bibī Shāhiba, and father of Ghulām Ashraf Khān, IV. 60.
- Shaykh Abdullāh, the *mufti* of Arcot, I. 23.
- Shaykh Abdullāh (Qāzī Lār), son of Qāzī Shaykh Ibrāhīm and father of Shaykh Makhdūm Abdūl-Qādir Qannawjī, IV. 54.
- Shaykh Abdullāh, son of Fārūq-i-A'zam and father of Shaykh Nāsirūd-Dīn, IV. 54.
- Shaykh Abdullāh, son of 'Umar Fārūq-i-A'zam, wives and sons of, IV. 56.
- Shaykh Abdūl-Qādir, son of Shaykh Na'mullāh, father-in-law of Shaykh Abdūl-Walī, IV. 97.
- Shaykh Abdūl-Qādir, grandfather of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt, IV. 60.
- grandfather of Bibī Shāhiba, IV. 60.
- Shaykh Abdūl-Walī, son of Shaykh Muḥammad Munawwar and father of Shaykh Muḥammad Khayrullāh, III. 3, IV. 53, 55.
- father of Bibī Shāhiba, IV. 60.
- honoured by Awrangzēb 'Alam-gīr Pādshāh, IV. 58-59.
- Shaykh Abdūl-Walī 'Alī Rutbat, wives and children of, IV. 96, 97-8.
- Shaykh Abdūl-Wāsi', father of Abdūr-Raḥīm Khān, IV. 61.
- Shaykh Abdur-Raḥmān al-'Ashiqī, a saint, I. 18.
- Shāh Abū-al Layth, son of Shāh Abū Saīd, II. 15.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC

Shaykh Abul-Barakāt Baghdādī, author of the *Tadhkirat-us-siyar*, IV. 57.

Shaykh Abul-Faḍl, I. 15.

Shaykh Abul-Fataḥ Wā'ig-i-Kabīr son of Shaykh Ishāq and father of Abdullāh Wā'ig-i-Saghīr, IV. 54.

Shaykh Abul-Muwayyid of Gujarat, author of *Jawāhirul-Khamsa*, I. 66 *f.n.*

Shaykh Adam, the *hajjām*, III. 23, 38.

Shaykh Aḥmad Khayrābādī, *d. of, m.* to Shaykh Ghulām Aḥmad, IV. 98.

Shaykh Aḥmad Mujaddid Alf-i-thānī, a descendant of Sultān Shihābūd-Dīn Aḥmad Farrukh Shāh 'Adil, IV. 57.

Shaykh 'Alā'ud-Dīn, son of Shaykh 'Alī and father of Qāzī Shaykh Ibrāhīm, IV. 54.

Shaykh 'Alī, son of Qāzī Fakhrūd-Dīn and father of Shaykh 'Alā'ud-Dīn, IV. 54.

Shaykh Aqdas (holy master) a title given to Nawwāb Hājī Muḥammad Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur by Muḥammad Awrangzēb 'Alamgīr Pādshāh, I. 11-12, 16, 32, 34.

Shaykh Bāban, an orderly under Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 9.

Shaykh Fakhrūd-Dīn Maḥmūd, (Sultān Sulaymān Shāh) son of Muḥammad Subhān and father of Sultān Shihābūd-Dīn Aḥmad (Farrukh Shāh 'Adil), IV. 54.

Shaykh Ghulām Aḥmad son of Khayrūd-Dīn Khān I, wife and children, of, IV. 98.

Shaykh Hasan, same as Muḥammad Hasan, II. 63 *f.n.*

Shaykh Ibrāhīm, son of Shaykh Nāṣirūd-Dīn, and father of Ishāq, IV. 54; settlement of, in Bukhārā, IV. 56.

Shaykh Ibrāhīm, son of Umar, rebelion against Hārūn, IV. 56.

Shaykh Imām, the *Jama'dār* III. 152.

Shaykh Ishāq, son of Shaykh Ibrāhīm and father of Shaykh Abul-Fataḥ Wā'ig-i-Kabīr, IV. 54.

Shaykh Khayrullāh, son of Shaykh Abul-Wālī, *m.* Rābī'a, and father of three sons and two daughters, IV. 97.

Shaykh Madan, grandfather of Muḥsinūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 60.

Shaykh Makhdūm Abul-Hayy I. 9; (Shaykhul-Mashāyikh 'Alim-i-Zamānī) son of Shaykh Makhdūm Abul-Qādir Qannawjī and father of Shaykh Ni'mullāh, IV. 54.

—a disciple of his holiness Niḡamūd-Dīn of Amethī, IV. 58.

—coffin of Anwaru'd-Dīn interred by the side of the tomb of, I. 19.

Shaykh Makhdūm Abul-Qādir Qannawjī, a descendant of Fakhrūd-Dīn, migration of, to Gopamaw, IV. 58.

—son of Shaykh Abdullāh and father of Shaykh Makhdūm Abul-Hayy (Shaykhul-Mashāyikh 'Alim-i-Zamānī), IV. 54.

Shaykh Mas'ūd, son of Abdullāh Wā'ig-i-Saghīr and father of Muḥammad Subhān, IV. 54.

Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmad, son of Shaykh Yūsuf and father of Qāzī Shaykh Shu'ayb, IV. 54.

Shaykh Muḥammad Anwar Hājī Muqaddas, IV. 96.

Shaykh Muḥammad Hayāt, grandson of Shaykh Abul-Qādir, *m.* Bībī Fāṭimā sāhibā, IV. 60.

—father of Arzānī Bī, IV. 97.

Shaykh Muḥammad Khayrullāh, son of Shaykh Abul-Wālī and father of Abul-Hakīm Khān Bahādur Shahīd III. 3, IV. 55.

Shaykh Muḥammad Munawwar, III. 4; a resident of Gopāmaw and father of Shaykh Abul-Wālī, III. 3.

—*m.* Dulārī Bībī Sāhibā and father of Muḥammad Anwar and Abul-Wālī, IV. 55, 58, 59.

—became a devotee of Allāh, IV. 58.

Shaykh Muḥammad Sāliḥ, *d. of, m.* to Khayrūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 97.

- Shaykh Muḥammad Sharif, II. 31 *f.n.*
- Shaykh Naʿmullāh, father of Shaykh Abdūl-Qādir, IV. 97.
- Shaykh Naṣīrūd-Dīn, son of Shaykh Abdūllāh and Fāṭima, and father of Shaykh Ibrāhīm, IV. 54, 56.
- Shaykh Ni'mullāh son of Shaykh Makhdūm Abdūl-Ḥayy, IV. 54, 58.
- Shaykh Ni'mullāh, grandfather of Muḥammad Aṣaf, IV. 60.
- Shaykh Nigāmūd-Dīn Amethī, Abdūl-Ḥayy, a disciple of, I. 9.
- Shaykhs, I. 111.
- Shaykh Saḥī, a poet, I. 117, III. 41.
- Shaykh (Sultān) Sulaymān, son of Maṣ'ūd, work of, at Kābul, IV. 56-7.
- Shaykhul-Mashāyikh a title of Muḥammad Munawwar, I. 9.
- Shaykhul-Mashāyikh 'Alim-i-Zamānī, (Shaykh Makhdūm Abdūl-Ḥayy), IV. 54.
- Shaykhul-Mashāyikh Makhdūm Shāh Naṣīrūd-Dīn Bilgirāmī, IV. 96.
- Shaykh Yūsuf, son of Sultān Shihābūd-Dīn Aḥmad (Farrukh Shāh 'Adil) and father of Shaykh Muḥammad Aḥmad, IV. 54.
- Shēr Jang Bahādur, a son of Nawwāb Muḥammad 'Alī Wālājāh Bahādur, III. 156.
- Shēr Shāh, daily routine of, I. 29 *f.n.*
- Shihābūd-Dīn, a descendant of Abdullāh Awsaṭ, I. 5.
- Shishā Rāw (Sesha Rao), the *bakhshī* of Ḥusayn Dōst Khān, death of, II. 31 and *f.n.*
- Shiva(w)ganga, Ḥusaynpūr, a name of, after Ghulām Ḥusayn, I. 60, II. 215.
- Zamindar of, I. 59.
- Shu'ayb, a descendant of Abdullāh Awsaṭ, I. 5.
- Shuayb, son of Muḥammad Aḥmad, and father of Sulaymān and Fakhrūd-Dīn, appointment of, as *qāṣī* of the *qaṣba* of Kahwāl, IV. 57.
- Shujāat 'Alī Khān Bahādur, III. 34, 47, 99, 102.
- conferred the title of *Bahādur*, III. 57.
- Shujāat 'Alī Khān Bahādur, chosen *nāib* of Sirāi'ul-Mulk Bahādur, III. 70.
- Shūjah, Sultan Mīr Jumla sent to pursue him, I. 90 *f.n.*
- Shujā'ud-Dawla (Shujā'ud-Dīn) II. 15 *f.n.*
- Shujā'ud-Dīn (Shujā'ud-Dawla) son-in-law and successor of Murshid Qulī Khān in the *nigāmat* of Bengal, II. 15 *f.n.*
- Shukōhul-Mulk Bahādur, Nawwāb, a title of Abdūl-Wahhāb Khān, II. 22, III. 74.
- Badrūn-nisā sāhibā, the daughter of, III. 79.
- Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Dilēr Jang Bahādur, son of Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang and father of Muḥammad Ni'mulāh Khān Sharaful-Umarā Bahādur, IV. 55.
- Shukōhul-Mulk Dilēr Jang Bahādur, Nawwāb, father of Munawwar Bēgam, IV. 108.
- Shukōhul-Mulk Dilēr Jang, Naṣīrūd-Dawla II, Nawwāb, father of Safdūn-nisā Bēgam by Ḥamīdūn-nisā Bēgam sāhibā, IV. 70.
- Shukōhul-Mulk Mumtāzūl-Umarā Amīrūl-Mulk I'timādūd-Dawla Bahādur, second son of Naṣīrūd-Dawla Bahādur II, wives and children of, IV. 94-5.
- Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Abdūl-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang, Nawwāb, wives and children of, IV. 91 *f.n.*
- Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣīrūd-Dawla Bahādur, III. 46; grandfather of Muḥammad Karīm, took his wife from among the descendants of Fāṭima, IV. 42.
- m.* Lār-Bēgam sāhibā and father of Dulārī Bēgam Sāhibā, IV. 63.
- father of Sarfarāz 'Alī Khān Bahādur and Raḥmatūn-nisā Bēgam, III. 46, 108.
- father of Badrūn-nisā Bēgam by his wife Allāh Rakhī Bēgam, IV. 64.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC IV

- Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣirūd - Dawla Bahādur, anxiety of, over the health of his brother Nawwāb Wālājāh, III. 41-2.
- presentation of *nadhīr* to Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur by, III. 52.
- visited by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 65.
- Shukōhul - Mulk Naṣirūd - Dawla Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang, Nawwāb, son of Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Sirājūd - Dawla Anwarūd - Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang and father of Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣirūd-Dawla Dilēr Jang Bahādur, IV. 55.
- Siddi Muḥammad Firūz Khān, appointed *dārogha* of the alchemy house, III. 20.
- Sikākūl (Chicacole), II. 176.
- Silambar, (Chidambaram), II. 151, 172, III. 244.
- Sira, a town in Mysore, I. 112 and 112-13 *f.n.*
- Sirājūd-Dawla, II. 18 *f.n.*
- Sirājūd - Dawla Muḥammad Jān (Khān)-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, Nawwāb, son of Muḥammad (Hājī) Anwar and father of Muḥammad 'Alī Nawwāb Wālājāh I, II. 5, 29, 122, 175, 185; IV. 59.
- appointed to go to the Deccan with Nawwāb Aṣaf Jān Nizāmūl-Mulk, and followed by one of the descendants of Muḥammad, I. 4.
- nobles of the court and the sons of, I. 108-9.
- respected as uncle by Hidāyat Muhiyyūd-Dīn Khān, I. 137.
- events preceding the birth of, I. 19-21.
- the happy facts about, I. 21-22.
- the English admitted to the *darbār* of, I. 103.
- niḡāmat* of, in Arcot, I. 106 *ff.*
- expulsion of the Afghans from the Carnatic Payanghat by, I. 110-11.
- Sirājūd-Dawla, fight of, with Bābu Nāyak for the second time, I. 111-114.
- sent Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur against the French, I. 115-16.
- appointment of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā by, to punish the French and help the English, I. 116-17.
- happiness of, over the success of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, I. 126.
- division by, of the Carnatic Payanghat among his sons and designation of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā as his successor, I. 127.
- appointment of Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur to the *niḡāmat* of Arcot by, and his going to Nattharnagar to stay there, due to misunderstanding with his son, I. 132-35.
- starting of, from Nattharnagar, and martyrdom of, I. 137-147.
- nāḡim* of Chicacole, II. 6.
- relations of, with Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, II. 21-24.
- death of, II. 27, 28, 30.
- Sirājūd-Dawla Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Dilāwar Jang, a title of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā conferred by Aḥmad Shāh Pādshāh, II. 34.
- Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Shahīd, journey to Shāh-jahānābād, II. 176.
- made the Nizām of Arcot, II. 177.
- and Nawwāb Salābat Jang and the English, II. 183.
- Sirājūd-Dīn, (Mumtāzūd-Dawla Muḥammad Sirājūd-Dīn Khān), son of Zubayda Khānam, *m.* the *d.* of Naṣirūd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabibullāh Khān, IV. 104.
- Sirājul-Mulk Muḥammad Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur, III. 52, 58; conferment of titles to, III. 10.
- the evening *darbār* of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur held in the *diwān-khāna* of, III. 59.
- dignified with the title of *Nawwāb Ra'isul-Umarā Sardārul-Mamālik Sirājul-Mulk* by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 70.

- Sirāj-un-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Nawwāb Wālājāh I and Ra'is-un-nisā Bēgam, *m.* Ghawth Muḥammad Khān, IV. 89.
- Sir John Shore, III. 55 and *n.*
—letter of, to the Governor of Madras, III. 58.
- Sivaganga, I. 132, II. 26.
- Siyar-ul-Aqlāb*, a work of Ḥaẓrat Shakar Ganj, IV. 57.
- Siyar-ul-Mutaḥkkihīn*, II. 34 *f.n.*
- Soupire, M., (Sapir), II. 187 *f.n.*
- St. Thomas Mount (Farangikonda), I. xxxi. *f.n.*, 99 *n.*, II. 173, 217 *n.*
- Smith, Captain (Brigadier General Joseph Smith), II. 18 *n.*, III. 19, 22.
—*Sardār* of the English army, sent to subjugate Tanjore, I. 96.
- Sobna, a zamindar, I. 40.
- Socrates, trustworthiness of, I. xxiii.
- Sōnā, a dancing girl, III. 25, 26.
- Srirang(am), II. 109, 110, 111, 113, 116, 117, 118, 129 *n.*, 154, 155, 162, 163, 164.
—brought under the control of Husayn Dōst Khān, II. 86.
—siege of, by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā, II. 109-10 and *f.n.*
—capture of, II. 126.
—temple of, entered by the French, II. 239.
—temple at, devastated by the French, II. 240; order by Ḥaẓrat-i-A'lā for the rebuilding of, II. 240.
- Srirangapattan, Haydar Ali Khān, chief of, I. xxvi.
- Šaba, Nattharnagar, I. 25.
- Šaba, of Farkhunda Bunyād Ḥaydarābād, I. 23; *niḡamat* at, held by Nawwāb Muḥammad Jān-i-Jahān Anwarūd-Dīn Khān, I. 27.
- Šabakḡāh, I. 98.
- Sugar-Loaf Rock, battle of, II. 160 *f.n.*
- Sujana Bai, wife of Bāvā Šāhib, I. 95 *f.n.*
- Sukālī Bēgam, sister of Sharafu'l-Umarā Bahādur and wife of Haydar Jang the senior, IV. 93.
—*d.* of Shukōhu'l-Mulk Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Bahādur, *m.* Wārith Ali Khān Bahādur Haydar Jang, IV. 95.
- Sulaymān, Prophet, Silambar believed to be the halting place of the throne of, II. 244.
- Sulaymān, son of Shuḡayb, and father of Qūṭh-i-'Alam Ḥaẓrat Faridūd-Dīn Shakar Ganj, succession of, as the *qāẓī* of Kahwāl, IV. 57.
- Sultān Bēgam (Zeb'un-nisā), II. 61 *f.n.*
- Sultān Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, the forefather of Sālim, IV. 56.
- Sultān-un-nisā Bēgam, same as Buddhī Bēgam, II. 9, 211, III. 21, 25, 32, 52, 53, 59, 65, 77, 84, 111, 112, 128, 140, 141, 144, 145, 149, 164, 167, 169, 170, IV. 67, 69, 70.
—senior sister of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 24-5.
—mother-in-law of Muḥammad 'Izzūd-Dīn Khān Mustaqīm Jang Nāmī, III. 27.
—mother of 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān Ra'isul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 29, 112, IV. 5.
—grandmother of Šāliḡa Bēgam, IV. 72.
—children of, 81-3.
—misunderstanding of, with Nawwāb Wālājāh II, III. 12.
—marriage of the son of, III. 36-7, 60-5.
—confirmation of the *jāgīr* of, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 66.
—and the marriage of Shahsawār Jang, III. 78-100.
—and the grant of honours to I'tihār Khān by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 103-4.
—and the appointment of Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur as the *faujdar* of Nellore, III. 105-07.
—and the marriage of Muḥammad Ḥabībullah Nāṣirūd-Dawla Khān Bahādur, III. 121 ff.
—and the pardon of Nuṣrat Ali Khān, III. 158.
—palpitation of the heart of, III. 160; displeasure of, on hearing of

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

- the possible succession of Tāj'ul-Umarā Bahādur to the *masnad*, III. 162-3.
- anxiety of, over the boil of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 165-6.
- suspicions of Colonel Barrett Bahādur about the designs of, III. 171.
- displeasure of, with Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā-Bahādur, III. 174-5.
- collection of an army by, reported by Colonel Barrett Bahādur to Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 175-76.
- displeasure of, at the stern rebuke of Tāj'ul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 182.
- and the taking of the coffin of her brother through the *kamān-darwāza*, III. 184.
- letter of, to the Governor-General opposing the succession of Tāj'ul-Umarā Bahādur to the throne, IV. 5-6.
- letter of, to the Governor-in-Council, IV. 7.
- asked Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur not to come to her house, IV. 8.
- stay of Tāj'ul-Umarā Bahādur with, IV. 15.
- permission to, to go to Baytullāh, IV. 18.
- friendly correspondence of, with Fayẓun-nisā Bēgam Shāhiba, the noble Bēgam of Mīrzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahādur, IV. 47.
- friendship of, with Mīrzā 'Alī Bakht Bahādur and his Bēgam, IV. 49.
- pilgrimage of, to Baytullāh, and death of, at Karbalā, IV. 65.
- Sultān Shihābūd-Dīn Aḥmad (*Farukh Shāh 'Adil*) son of Shaykh Fakhrūd-Dīn Maḥmūd and father of Shaykh Yūsuf, IV. 54.
- Sultān Shihābūd-Dīn Aḥmad Farukh Shāh 'Adil son of Shaykh Sulaymān, Sultān of Kābul, IV. 57.
- Sultān Sulaymān, see Shaykh Sulaymān, IV. 56-57.
- Sultān Sulaymān Shāh, (Shaykh Fakhrūd-Dīn Maḥmūd), IV. 54 and *n.*
- Sultān'ul-Hind, an exalted name of Hazrat-i-A'lā, II. 13.
- Sūra-i-yāsīn*, III. 43, 79; Shāh 'Alī-mullāh asked to read the, III. 180.
- recitation of the, by Iftikhārūd-Dawlā Bahādur, III. 181.

T

- Tadhkīratul-Ansāb*, IV. 61, 96, 113.
- Tadhkīratul-siyar*, a work of Shaykh Abūl-Barakāt Baghdādī, IV. 57.
- Tahirs*, account of the, 80, 82.
- enmity of, towards Nawwāb Safdar 'Alī Khān, I. 111.
- Tāhirun-nisā Bēgam, *m.* to Badī'ullāh Khān Bahādur Zāhirūd-Dawla Fīṣrat Jang, IV. 72.
- Tāhirun-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur. *m.* Qiyāmūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 75.
- Tāhirun-nisā Bēgam, *d.* of Zubayda khānam, *m.* Qiyāmūd-Dawla, IV. 105.
- Tahmāst Khān, victory of, over the French at Chingleput and his defeat, II. 44-5.
- Tāidūd-Dīn Akbar, son of Amīrūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 75.
- Tajawur, I. 93, II. 152.
- Tājūd-Dīn Khān, marriage of, with Razīya Bēgam, III. 10, 100-101.
- Tāj'ul-Umarā Bahādur, (Alī Husayn), son of Nawwāb Wālājāh II. and Mubārakun-nisā Bēgam, *m.* the younger sister of Ikrāmun-nisā, III. 12, 73-4, 89, 135, 138, 139, 141, 142, 145, 146, 148, 150, 153, 158, 161, 163, 164, 167, 170, 175, IV. 7 *n.*, 48, 68, 69.
- m.* 'Ināyatun-nisā Bēgam, IV. 84.
- son of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 101.
- marriage of, III. 107-17.
- Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur congratulated upon by Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh Niẓām'ul-Mulk Bahādur on the marriage of, III. 121.

- Tājūl-Umarā Bahādur, letter of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to George III requesting him to recognise the claims of, to the throne, III. 130-31.
- talk of the succession of, to the throne, III. 162-3.
- and the Governor of Madras, correspondence between, III. 172 n.
- a *waṣīyyat-nāma* by Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur in the name of, advice to, by the father, III. 173-4.
- advice of Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur to, III. 178; visits of, to his father, III. 178-9.
- informed of the doctor's opinion about the condition of his father, by Colonel Barrett Bahādur, III. 181.
- aunts of, rebuked by, III. 182.
- sorrow of, at the death of his father, III. 183.
- and the dispatch of the coffin of his father, III. 184.
- instructions of, for sending the coffin of his father to Nattharnagar, III. 184.
- difficulties to the accession of, IV. 1-8.
- intimacy of, with Aḡimūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 8.
- invitation of Aḡimūd-Dawla Bahādur by, IV. 9-10.
- anxiety of, over the choice of Aḡimūd-Dawla Bahādur as Nawwāb, IV. 11.
- suspicion about the legitimacy of, IV. 14.
- demise of, III. 172 n., IV. 15-16.
- Tānā Shāh, see Abūl-Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh, I. 99 f.n.
- Tanjore, (Tanjāwūr, Tajāwūr), II. 18 n., 25, 30, 31, 42 n., 69, 87 n., 90, 105 n., 106, 111, 119 and n., 121, 152, 157, 160, 197 n., 200, 214, 215, 216 n., 243, 255.
- named Qādir-nagar after Ḥadrat Sayyid Abdu'l-Qādir, I. 60.
- Zamindar of, I 59.
- Tanjore, Ṣafdar Ali Khān and, I. 72.
- Mahratta Rajas of, I. 95 f.n.
- the Mahratta Rāja, Tuljaji of, and the Dutch, I. 95-96.
- Pratāp Singh of, and Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla, I. 108.
- peshkash* and *naḡhr* collected from the Zamindār of, by Ḥadrat-i-Aḡā, I. 132.
- unsuccessful invasion against, by Hidāyat Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Khān and M. Dupleix, II. 3-4.
- help given by Muḥammad Munawwar in the subjugation of, II. 8.
- Zamindar of, assisted by Ḥaḡrat-i-Aḡā, II. 26, 27.
- plan of M. Lally and others for the attck of, II. 196.
- M. Lally's failure at, II. 197-9.
- a dependency of Nattharnagar, II. 202.
- visited by A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, IV. 22.
- Tānū, III. 25.
- Tapil, M., M. Lally, joined by, II. 201.
- Taqi Ali Khān Bahādur, III. 34, 46, 83, 102, 149, 173, 174, 177, 179, 181, IV. 2, 5.
- a son-in-law of Ali Dōst Khān and jāḡirdār of Wandwāsī, I. 69.
- jāḡirdār of Wandwāsī, II. 231; his fort attacked and himself taken prisoner, II. 231-2.
- conferred the title *Bahādur*, III. 57.
- Taqi Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur (Amīrud-Dawla), son of Abdu'l-Qādir Khān, m. Ruqayya Bēgam, d. of I'tizādūd-Dawla Ḥāfiḡ Muḥammad Naṣir Khān, IV. 85, 102.
- Taqi Ṣāhib, (Muḥammad Taqi Ali Khān), II. 142, f.n.
- Tarakampadi (Tranquebar), I. 93 and f.n.
- Tarangampadi, increment of the *jisya* from, II. 244.
- Tardāwīḡ prayer, III. 39.
- Tarchīnī (Yāchama), II. 173 and f.n.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

- Tārikh-i-Ferishtā*, see *Nawrasnāma*, I. xxviii.
- Tārikh-i-Ibrāhīmī* (*Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*) a work of Ferishtā, I. 8 f.n.
- Tārikh-i-Khāfi-Khān* (*Muntakhabul-lubāb Muḥammad Shāhī*), the work of Khāfi Khān, I. 15 f.n.
- Tārikh-i-Shēr-Shāhī*, a work of Abbās Khān, I. 29 f.n.
- Tasbiḥ Khāna*, chapel where praises of Allāh are celebrated, I. 14 and f.n., 35, II. 11.
- Tātār Khānī*, IV. 56.
- Tāymān hill* at Trichinopoly, I. 128, 130, II. 86.
- Ṭayyibūn-nisā, *nikdāh* wife of Nawwāb Sayful-Mulk Bahādur, and mother of Muḥammad Taqī, IV. 77.
- Ta'ziya, a model of the tomb of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, carried in procession at the Muḥarrām, II. 7 and f.n., 8.
- Tellicherry, siege of, by the troops of Ḥaydar Ali, IV. 10 n.
- Temujin, same as Chinghiz Khān, I. 5 f.n.
- Thābit Jang Bahādur, a title of Clive, II. 113 f.n.
- "Three old villages", I. 101 f.n.
- Timiri, II. 70, 90 n., 93, 94, 97.
- fort of, subjugated by M. Lally, II. 202.
- fort at, cleared of the French, II. 232.
- Timūr, arrival of the princes of the family of, in the Carnatic and Madras, III. 8, 12.
- Mirzā Humāyūn Bakht Bahādur, a descendant of, IV. 47.
- Timūr Nāma*, a historical poem by Mawlānā Abdullāh Hātifi, II. 75, 75-6 f.n.
- Tinnevelly, II. 24 n., 25, 69, 132, 216 n., 265.
- under the *ṣuba* of Trichinopoly, I. 128, 130.
- entrusted to Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur, II. 245-46.
- Tippu Sultān, IV. n., alleged friendship of the Nawwābs of Arcot with, III. 84 n.
- Tippu Sultān, defeat and death of, III. 133 and n. 135.
- Tirmalkari, (Triplicane), III. 32, 33, 118, 147, 168.
- Tirnāmal, (Tiruvannamalai), II. 70, 272.
- Tirnāwili, (Tinnevelly). II. 215, 245, 265.
- Tirukalur (Tirukoilur), II. 52.
- Tirukkattupalli, II. 153.
- Tirukoilur (Tirkalur), II. 52.
- capture of, by Muḥammad Yūsuf Khān, II. 216 n.
- Tirumalgadhi (Triplicane), I. 100, and f.n.
- Tirupati, II. 175.
- Tiruvalluvar, Mylapore associated with the life of, I. 92 f.n.
- Tiruvāmūr, coins minted at, I. 99 f.n.
- Tirur, II. 26, 215, 239.
- Tiruvannamalai, II. 70, 72.
- Tiruv(w)ati, II. 77, 146, 147, 153 n. 175.
- English army expelled from, by Nawwāb Nizāmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, I. 125.
- defeat of Muḥammad Ali at, by the French, II. 24 f.n.
- capture of the fort of, by Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the French, II. 42 and f.n.
- siege and the postponement of the subjugation of the fort of, by Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḷā; defeat of Ṣaff Shikan Khān by the French at, II. 46-52 and f.n.
- granted to Dupleix, II. 62.
- subjugation of the fort of, by Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḷā, II. 142.
- attack of the fort of, II. 147 n.
- success of Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḷā at, II. 148-49.
- strengthening of, by Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḷā, II. 150, 152.
- Tiyākgadh, II. 239.
- Tondaman, II. 26, 69, 90, 106, n. 155, 157, 160.
- a dependency of Nattharnagar, II. 82.
- Tondaman, forest on the frontier of, II. 153.

- Town Major, visit of, to Nawwāb 'Umdatul-'Umarā Bahādur at the direction of the Governor, III. 169-70.
- visit of, to Nawwāb 'Umdatul-'Umarā Bahādur, III. 175.
- Tranquebar, (Tarakampadi) I. 93 and *f.n.*; 196, *n.*
- Travancore, I. 82 *f.n.*
- Trichinopoly (Nattharnagar), I. xxvi, xxxiin, 25, 43, 59, 60, 102*n* 106, II. 4, 22, 29, 30, 31 and *n*, 119, 122, 128-9*n*, 130-*n*, 152-*n*, 153-*n*, 154, 156, 162, 175, 183, 196, 199, 202, 210, 216-*n*, 222, 238, 239, 242, 248, 271, 272, III. 46, 79, 80, 94, 175, 184, IV. 142.
- a *ṣūba*, I. 25.
- Husayn Dōst Khān, the *hākim* of, I. 69.
- the last Nāyaks of, I. 70-71 and *f.n.*
- capture of, by Nizāmul-Mulk, I. 82-83, *f.n.*
- capture of the fort of, from the hands of Murari Rao, I. 82-84.
- coins minted at, I. 99. *f.n.*
- Muhammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur entrusted with the administration of the *ṣūba* of, by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 127.
- contest at, between Munirūd-Dīn Khān and Anwar 'Alī Khān, the dismissal of Muhammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur from the *ṣūba* of, and the appointment of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā over it by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 128-131.
- niḡmat* of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā in the *ṣūba* of, and the change of its name into Nattharnagar, I. 131-32.
- kept out of the jurisdiction of the *nāib* of Arcot, I. 133; left for, by Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 134.
- capture of Husayn Dōst Khān at, I. 137.
- authority of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā over, II. 2.
- strengthening of the fort of, by Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā, II. 24-6 and 24-5 *f.n.*
- Trichinopoly, return of Ḥaḍrat-i-A'lā to, II. 58-61.
- Husayn Dōst Khān's march against, II. 69-78.
- arrival of Husayn Dōst Khān at, II. 86-8 and *f.n.*
- strengthening of, II. 128.
- demand for and the siege of, by Karāchūri Nandraj, II. 145-148 and *f.n.*
- imprisonment of Walī Bahādur and others at, II. 163-5.
- entry of the French into, and their imprisonment, II. 165-68.
- repairs to the breaches in the fort of, II. 172.
- attacked by the French, II. 189, *f.n.*
- decision and arrangements for the defence of, II. 192, 193.
- Sayyid 'Alī Khān, the *nāim* of, II. 198.
- Ghulām Husayn appointed *nāib* of, II. 241.
- coffin of Muhammad 'Alī Wālājāh Bahādur sent to, III. 11.
- tomb of the wife of Nawwāb Muhammad 'Alī Wālājāh at, III. 40.
- dispatch of the coffin of Nawwāb Muhammad 'Alī Wālājāh to Nattharnagar by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-'Umarā Bahādur, and its burial at the place, III. 131-3.
- coffin of 'Umdatul-'Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, sent to, IV. 1.
- visited by A'ḡam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, IV. 22.
- Muhammad Maḥfūz Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, appointed *ṣabadār* of, IV. 60 *n.*
- Ghulām Ḥasan Nawwāb Husāmul-mulk appointed *hākim* of, IV. 64.
- Triplicane (Tirmalkarī), III. 168; orders of Nawwāb 'Umdatul-'Umarā Bahādur to the *kotwāl* of, III. 118.
- Muhammad Riḡā, the *kotwāl* of, III. 147.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNĀTIC IV

Triplicane, Shādī-mahall, situated on the High Road in Triplicane, IV. 33.

Tughlaq Sultans of Delhi, I. 3 and *f.n.*

Tukoji, a son of Venkaji, I. 95, *f.n.*
Tuljāji, and the Dutch, I. 95-96, and 95, *f.n.*

Tūndamān (Pudukottah), II. 239.

Tūran, I. 84.

Turkistān, Bukhārā in, I. 4.

Tasak-i-Wāljāhī, IV, 113; occasion for the compilation of, I. xxii-xxvi, authorship of, III. 5, *n.*

—compiled by the order of Janāb Husāmūl-Mulk Bahādur, III. 5 and *n.* IV. 115.

—contents of the, I. xxvii.

Tyāgadruḡ (Tiyakgadh), II. 238.

—anxiety of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā to subjugate, II. 243.

—promise of the grant of, to Ḥaydar Ali Khān by the French, II. 253, *n.*

U

Udayarpalayam (Wadyārpāla), II. 26, 215.

Umān, sea of, II. 13, 243.

Umar, father of Shaykh Ibrāhīm IV. 56.

Umar Fārūq-i-Aʿzam, father of Shaykh Abdūllāh, IV. 56.

Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the noble ancestor of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā, wounded by Abū Lūlū, I. 2.

Umar Nawāz Khān, the *qalamdān-bardār* in the *kachahri Dārul-inshā Khāss fārsī*, IV. 35.

Umayyads, I. 65.

Umda Bēgam, same as ʿĀbida Bēgam, IV. 43.

Umdatul-Mulk, a title conferrd Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā by Aḥmad Pādshāh, II. 81.

Umdatul-ʿulamā Muftī Ba Dawla Bahādur, brother of aful-Mulk Bahādur, appointed *bakhshi* by Nawwāb Aẓīz Bahādur the regent, IV. 30-3.

Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Na Wāljāh II, son of Muḥa

Ali Khān Bahādur Amīrul-Hind Nawwāb Wāljāh I and father of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, II. 9, 45, 211, 213, III. 19 *n.* 23, 34, 36, 37, 38, 50, 79, 90, 172*n.*, IV. 2, 14, 46, 55. 64, 78, 82, 84, 85. 91, 92, 104, 111, 113, 114, 115, 184.

—a son of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā, I. 60, II. 158, IV. 67.

—Pōtī Bēgam, the junior of, IV. 65.

—initiation of, in spiritual discipleship by Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wāljāh, III. 7, 8, 13-17.

—facts relating to youth of, III. 7, 9, 17-18.

—a short account of the reign of, III. 9.

—the title *Ghulām Husayn* given by the Pādshāh at Delhi, II. 8, 241.

—an account of the reign of, II. 5-6.

—instructions of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā to, to submit a *sanad* for the grant of the districts of Tinnevely and Madura to Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur, II. 245.

—letter of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aʿlā to, II. 265.

—recognition of the title of, by the English King, III. 10.

—attack upon, by Mīr Jaʿfar Ali, III. 10.

—illness of, III. 11-12.

—events in the reign of, III. 11-12.

—attendants and managers of, III. 18.

—daily routine of, III. 19.

—wound in the fore finger of, III. 22-3.

—at his father's *darbār*, III. 23-24.

—with his relations, III. 24-5.

—recreation of, III. 25-6.

—doings of, in the night, III. 30-32.

—Dulārī Bēgam Šāhiba, the wife of, III. 32.

—celebration of the Muḥarrām by, III. 33-4.

—succession of, to his father's throne, III. 35.

—advice of Muḥammad Ali Wāljāh to, III. 38-41.

- Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, instructions of, to different persons, III. 41-2, 43-4.
- burial of his father's remains by, and his visit to the tomb, III. 45-9.
- interview of the son of Lord Hobart with, III. 51-2.
- congratulations to, on his coronation, III. 52-4.
- relations of, with Lord Hobart III. 54-5 and *n.*
- titles granted by, to different persons, III. 56-8.
- and the Governor of Madras, III. 58-9.
- dislike of, for Mubāriz Jang Bahādur, III. 60.
- and the marriage festivities of Ra'isul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 61-5.
- visit of, to Nawwāb Shukōhul-Mulk Naṣirud-Dawla Bahādur, III. 65.
- construction of Fataḥ-chawki by, III. 67-9.
- daily routine of, in Fataḥ-chawki, III. 69.
- grant of honours to various persons by, III. 70.
- receives the letter from the English king confirming his title to the throne as also a portrait, a sword and a medallion of the English Prince, III. 71-4.
- helped by Mr. Barrett in the payment of *qist*, for which he is made *dāwān*, III. 74-6.
- pacification of Malikun-nisā Bēgam Shāhiba by, III. 78.
- and Husāmud-Dawla Ghulām Riṣā Khān, III. 79.
- alleged friendship of, with Tippū Sulṭān, III. 84, *n.*
- punishment of Ja'far by, III. 82-85.
- pacification of the army by, III. 85-6.
- appointment of Husāmud-Mulk Bahādur, as the *ṣubadār* of Arcot, III. 86-7.
- and the new born child, Muḥammadī Miyān, III. 90, 92.
- Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, grant of titles to various persons by, III. 93-4.
- anxiety of, about the health of Muḥammad Karīm, III. 95.
- and the marriage of Shawsawār Jang, III. 98-100.
- and the marriage between Tājuddīn Khān and Raṣiya Bēgam, III. 100.
- entertainment of, by Bahrām Jang Bahādur, III. 101-02.
- entertainment of, by Shāh Maḥmūd Shāhib Sāwī, III. 102-03.
- grant of honours to I'tibār Khān III. 103-04.
- appointment of Iftikharud-Dawla Bahādur as *fawjdār* of Nellore by, III. 105-07.
- and the marriage of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 107-17.
- receipt of a letter by, from Shāh Ghāzī Pādshāh, Emperor of Delhi, III. 117-18.
- feast of, to his sisters in the *dīwān khāna* of Kalas-mahall and Mubārak-chawki, III. 120-21.
- congratulated by Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh Nizāmud-Mulk Bahādur on the marriage of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 121.
- excursion of, to the vine-arbour, III. 129.
- excursion of, to the sea-shore, III. 129-30.
- dispatch by, of an *urīṣa* along with presents to king George III, requesting him to recognise the claims of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 130-31.
- interview of General Harris with, 133-4.
- interview of Mir 'Alam with, and his return visit to, III. 135-9.
- celebration of the birthday of, introduction of the practice of the firing of a salute of 21 guns by, III. 141.
- at the breakfast arranged by Bahrām Jang Bahādur at the *dargāh* of Pīr Pahlawān Shāhib, III. 141-2.

Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, visit of, to the *dargāh* of Budū *Shahīd* Šāhib, III. 142-3.
 —visit by, to shrines, III. 143.
 —visit to the tanks at Saidapet and Nungambakkam, III. 145.
 —a running race held by, III. 145-6.
 —celebration of *nawrōs* by, III. 146.
 —excursion of, to the tank of Pulimādavaram, III. 147-59.
 —feast of Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur to, III. 159-60.
 —illness of, III. 163-170.
 —sickness of, III. 171-3.
 —the *waṣīyyat-nāma* of, in the name of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 173; instructions of, to his son and others, III. 173-174; displeasure between, and Nawwāb Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam Šāhiba, III. 174-5.
 —and the posting of English soldiers in Fatah-chawki, III. 175-7.
 —advice of, to Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 178.
 —confessions of, to Mawlānā Abdūl-‘Alī Šāhib, III. 179-80.
 —last days and death of, III. 181-83; coffin of, taken to Nattharnagar, III. 183-84.
 —chronogram recording the death of, III. 184 n.
 —coffin of, sent to Nattharnagar, IV. 1.
 —Nawwāb Wālājāh II., accession of, IV. 3 and n.
 —and the Seringapatam correspondence, IV. 4 and n.
 —Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam, first sister of, IV. 5 n.
 —mourning of Aḡimūd-Dawla Bahādur on the death of, IV. 8.
 —advice of, to his son Tājul-Umarā Bahādur to be always in the company of Aḡimūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 9 and n.
 —Seringapatam correspondence of, IV. 17 and n.
 —celebration of the *‘urs* by, of Budū *Shahīd* and Pīr Pahlawān Šāhib, IV. 40 n.

Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, Nawwāb Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam maintains friendship with Fayṣūn-nisā Bēgam Šāhiba after the accession of, IV. 47.
 —visit of Prince Mirzā ‘Alī Bakht Bahādur and Mirzā Muḥammad Aminūd-Dīn Šāhib *alias* Mirzā Amānī Šāhib to, and the return visit of, to, IV. 48-9.
 —Madras reached by Mirzā Tājūd-Dīn Bahādur, when he was in his death bed, IV. 49.
 —senior to Mōti Bēgam, IV. 65.
 —children of, IV. 68-9.
 —father of Bāqir Husayn Khān Bahādur by Chitar Bēgam, IV. 79.
 —Nawwāb Wālājāh II, *m.* Dūlārī Bēgam, IV. 91.
 Umdatūn-nisā Bēgam Šāhiba, Nawwāb, *alias* Fatah Bēgam, daughter of Amīrūl-Hind Wālājāh Nawwāb Muḥammad ‘Alī Khān Bahādur, II. 10, III. 4, 25, 128, 162.
 —younger sister of Sulṭānūn-nisā Bēgam, III. 32.
 —*m.* Hāfiḡ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Iftikhārūd-Dawla Bahādur, and mother of Muḥammad Karīm Khayrūd-Dīn Ghulām Zāmin, IV. 66, 67, 95.
 —mother of Iftikhārūd-Dawla Hāfiḡ Muḥammad Naṣīr Khān Bahādur, III. 34.
 —brought up Farḡatūn-nisā Bēgam IV. 78.
 —children of, IV. 84-5.
 —mother of Muḥammad Karīm, III. 95.
 —mother of Naṣīrūd-Dawla Muḥammad Ḥabibullāh Khān Bahādur, III. 121, 122.
 Umrah, I. 17 and *f.n.*
 Untātūr (Uttatūr?), II. 78n., 83 n., 85, 242 and n.
 —a *qaṣba* of Nattharnagar, II. 197.
 Uthmāniyya king, *sanad* of the ‘Illuminator’ obtained by Ḥadrat-i-‘Alā from the court of the, I. 18.
 Uttatur, see Untātūr, II. 83 *f.n.* II. 110-n. 112 n.

V

- Valdour, II. 256, *n*.
 Valikandapuram, II. 25 *f.n.* 60*n*, 77*n*, 253.
 —battle of, II, 58 *f.n.* 83 *n*, 116.
 —encampment of D' Auteuil at, II. 110.
 Valudavur, II, 237 *n*.; battle of, II. 33*n*.
 —capture of, from the French, II. 236.
 —Colonel Coote instructed by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā to stay at, II. 237.
 —capture of, from the French, II, 236, 237.
 —inspection of the army at, by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 246.
 —*sardār* of, ordered to lay siege to Phulcheri, II. 248.
 —fort of, captured by Colonel Coote, II. 253*n*.
 Vakil Pādar (Kilpatrick), II. 94.
 Vangaru Tirumala, I. 70*n*, 83*n*.
 Veerappa, Vakil, (see Casa Verona), I. 100 and *f.n.*
 Venkaji (Ekoji) third son of Shahji Bhonsle and half brother of Sivaji I. 95 *f.n*.
 Venkatagiri, II. 175.
 Vellore, I. 68, 69, II. 92, 97, 104, 105, 129*n*, 174, 212.
 —Riḍā ʿAlī Khān, the *jāgīrdār* of, I. 76-80.
 —subjugated by Chanda Sahib, II. 77.
 —imprisonment of Mīr Asadullāh Khān at, I. 80.
 —Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān qiludār of, II. 188.
 —Sayyid Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān, the *qiludār* of, II. 201.
 —visited by A'ḡam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, IV. 22.
 —Nawwāb Umdatūn-nisā Bēgam, born on the day of the subjugation of the fort of, IV. 66.
 Vijayaranga Chokkanatha, Nāyak of Trichinopoly, I. 70 *f.n*.
 Vikravandi, (Bakram). battle at, between Ḥaẓrat-i- Aḷā and Karjam, II. 136-7.
 Villanallur (Yalānūr), subjugation of, by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 256-8.
 Villenour, II. 256*n*, 259.
 Villupuram (Belpur) II. 32, 55, 134, 136.
 —capture of, by Colonel Coote, II. 253*n*.
 Volkondah, (Balkūdam) II, 110, 114*n*, III. 92 and *n*.
 —D'Auteuil's surrender at, II. 118 *f.n*.
 Vriddhāchalam, (Virdhachal; Wārdāchal) II. 25*n*, 77*n*, 244, 245-246 and 246*n*.
 —taking of the fort of, by Ḥāmid ʿAlī Khān, a friend of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 85 and *f.n*.
 —capture of, by Colonel Coote, II. 253*n*.

W

- Wadgara (Olugarai), taking of the tower of, by Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā and Colonel Coote, II. 259-61.
 Wadyārpāla (Udayarpalayam), II. 215.
 Wajhūd-Dīn Aḷmad Khān, grandfather of Husayni Bēgam, IV. 105.
 Wajihullāh Khān Bahādur, a companion of Aẓīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III and Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādur, the regent, IV. 39.
 Wāla Husayn, son of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur, IV. 107.
 Wālājāh, III. 16, genealogy of the family of, III 8, 12.
 Wālājāh, wars of, I. xxv.
Wālājāhī, name of a coin, I. 99 *f.n*.
 Wālājāhī mosque, III. 52, 74, IV. 19*n*.
 Wālājāh Sulṭān-Ḥind an exalted name of Ḥaẓrat-i-Aḷā, II. 13.
 Walandez (Hollanders), Dutch, coming of the, to India, I. 94-96 and *f.n*.
 Walī Bahādur, *qiludār* of Waykūndān, internment of, at Trichinopoly, II. 163-5.
 Walinagar a name of Ramnād after Ghulām Walī, I. 60, II. 215.
 Waliullāh, a surname of ʿAlī, III. 26 and *n*.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC IV

Walīullāh, conferred the title of Ghulām Riṣā Khān-Bahādur Ḥusām Jang, by Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 57.

—*m.* Raḥmat Bibī, IV. 98.

Waliyya, the name of the family of Shaykh Abdu'l-Wālī, IV. 53.

Walkandahpur (Valikandapuram), II. 60, 116.

Walkunda, II. 242, granted to Mu'tabir Khān as a Khālisa jāgīr, II. 243.

Wandīwash (Wandawāsī) Taqī Ali Khān, the jāgīrdār of, I. 69.

—subjugated and entrusted to Riṣā Ali Khān by M. Lally, II. 201-2.

—settlement of the affairs of the qildār of, II. 137-9.

—Muḥammad Taqī Ali Khān, the qildār of, II. 139-42.

—siege of the fort of, II. 141-142.

—subjugation of the fort of, II. 231-2.

—siege of, by the French and their defeat, II. 233-6.

—defeat of M. Lally at, by Sir Eyre Coote, II. 18 *f.n.*

Wāqī'at-i-Aḡfari, a work of Mīrṣā Ali Bakht Bahādur, IV. 48 *n.*

Warangal reached by M. Lally, II. 201.

Wardāchal, II. 244-5.

Wardāwūr, (Valudavur), II. 238.

Wārith Ali Khān Bahādur Ḥaydar Jang, *m.* Sukālī Bēgam, IV. 95.

Waṣīr-Rasūl, a surname of Ali, III. 26 and *n.*

Waykūdān, (Uyyakundan), attack of the fort of, by Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḡā, and its capture, II. 163-5.

Waṣīyyat-nāma by Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur in the name of Tājul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 173.

Webbe, Mr. Josiah, IV. 1 *n.*, 7 *n.*, 10; meeting of Colonel Barrett Bahādur by, IV. 1-2.

—on the Seringapatam correspondence and altercation between Iftīkhārūd-Dawla Bahādur and, IV. 4-5.

Wengol (Ongole), III. 9.

Wex, Mr, the bāgh of, purchased by Nawwāb Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur, III. 30-31, and *f.n.*

Wizārat Ali Khān, an Arab, magistrate from the time of Nawwāb Shahīd, II. 20.

Wisdrut-i-ṣubūdār, III. 136.

Y

Yadul Khān, murder of Saādatullāh Khān, by, I. 110-11.

Yahyā Khān, II. 69; son of Murshīd Qulī Khān the nāṣim of Bengal, found refuge in Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḡā, II. 15.

Yalānūr (Villanallur), subjugation of, by Ḥaṣrat-i-Aḡā, II. 256-8.

Yāsīn Muḥammad Khān, III. 60; conferred the title of Bahādur, III. 57.

—in charge of the marriage festivities of Shāhsawār Jang, III. 98.

Yazdajīrd, son of Noshīrwān and father of Bakht Bānū, IV. 56.

Yazīd, son of Mnāwiya, killed Imām Ḥusayn, IV. 16 *n.*

Yissugay, father of Chingīz Khān, I. 5 *f.n.*

Yūnus Khān, II. 113; help sent through, from Trichinopoly to Arcot, II. 92.

—help of, to Clive, II. 94-96.

—went to Nattharnagar on summons, II. 104-06.

—success of, against Ḥusayn Dōst Khān and the French near Elumisaṣaram, II. 106-09 and *f.n.*

—the employee of Murari Rao, II. 111 and *f.n.*

Yūsuf, a descendant of Abdullāh Awsat, I. 5.

Yūsuf, son of (Sultān Shihābūd-Dīn Aḡmad) Farrūkh Shāh 'Adil and father of Muḥammad Aḡmad, IV. 57.

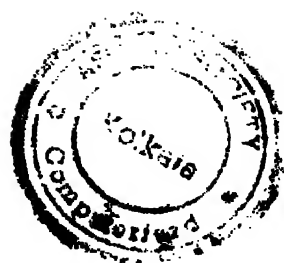
Yūsuf Khān, the mahout, stabbed Nawwāb Sirājūd-Dawla Bahādur, I. 147.

Yūsuf Khān, II. 18 *n.*, 152 *n.*

—at St. Thomas Mount, II. 217 *n.*

Z

- Zafar Jang, a title of Dupleix, II. 62
 Zafarūd-Dawla Ruknūd-Dīn Khān,
d. of, m. to Qudrat Karim Khān,
 IV. 99.
 Zahirūd-Dawla, son of Aẓīm Jāh.
 Bahādur, *m. the d. of Shukōhul-*
Mulk Mumtāzūl-Umarā Bahādur,
 IV. 95.
 Zakariyya Khān, I. 69.
 Zakiyyūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 96.
 Zakiyyūd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, IV.
 100.
 Zāl, father of Rustam, II. 17 and *f.n.*
Zan, I. 78.
 Zaybūr-Nisā (Sultān Bēgam), wife
 of Nawwāb Aṣafūd-Dawla, II. 61
f.n.
 Zaynūl-'Abidīn Khān, (Badē Šāhib),
 I. 73.
 Zēbūr-nisā Bēgam, Nawwāb, wife
 of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. III. 48.
 —a Turkan-mahall qf Nawwāb
 Wālājāh, I, IV: 89.
 'Zēbūr-nisā Bēgam, Nawwāb, mother
 of Husayn Nawāz Khān Bahādur,
 presents to, by Nawwāb 'Umdatul-
 Umarā Bahādur, III. 120.
 Zafarūd-Dawla Ruknūd-Dīn Khān,
 confirmation of the *jāgīr* of, by
 Nawwāb 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahā-
 dur, III. 66.
 Zīnat-mahall, a wife by *nikāḥ* of
 Nawwāb Wālājāh III and mother
 of a daughter, IV. 74.
 Zīnatūr-nisā Bēgam, *d. of* Nawwāb
 Wālājāh I and Zēbūr-nisā Bēgam,
m. Jalālūd-Dīn Khān, IV. 90.
 Zīnatūr-nisā. the *allātī* sister of
 Ghulām Muḥammad Khān Bahā-
 dur, *m. Sayyid Sajjād*, and mother
 of Ghulām Husayn, IV. 76.
 Ziyāūd-Dawla Bahādur, father of
 Nawwāb 'Ināyatūr-nisā Bēgam,
 IV. 71.
 Zubayda Khānam (Nāz Bānu), wife
 of Majdūd-Dawla Bahādur, child-
 ren of, IV. 104.
 Zubdatul-'Arifin, a title of 'Abdul-
 Hayy, I. 9.



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